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# TIME

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do bad things just happen?**



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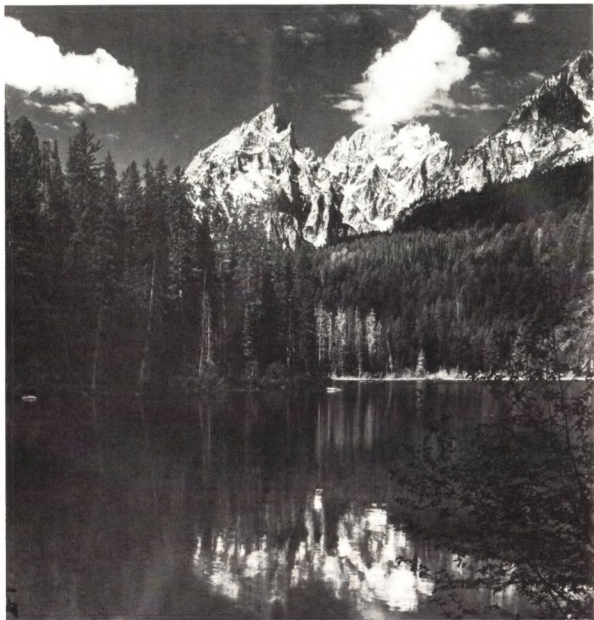
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# TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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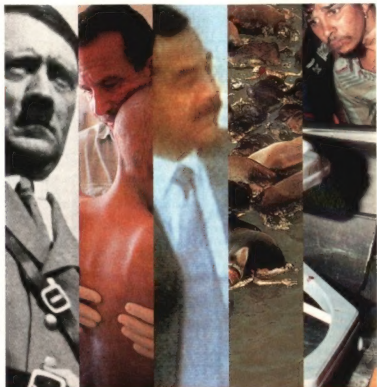
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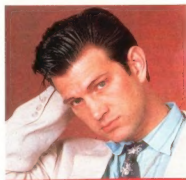
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# NATION PREPARES FOR LEANER TIMES

## The Skinniest Six

 <b>ROUND TIP</b> 157 calories 5.3 gms total fat* (2.1 gms sat. fat)	 <b>TOP LOIN</b> 178 calories 8.0 gms total fat* (3.1 gms sat. fat)	 <b>TOP ROUND</b> 153 calories 4.2 gms total fat* (1.4 gms sat. fat)	 <b>EYE OF ROUND</b> 153 calories 4.2 gms total fat* (1.5 gms sat. fat)	 <b>TENDERLOIN</b> 179 calories 8.5 gms total fat* (3.2 gms sat. fat)	 <b>TOP SIRLOIN</b> 165 calories 6.1 gms total fat* (2.4 gms sat. fat)
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### BEEF AND TODAY'S HEALTH STAMPEDE.

These are leaner times. Conspicuous consumption is out. The basics are back. People are eating lighter, leaner foods. And here's the whole story.

#### Calories: the inside account.

The Skinniest Six cuts of beef are surprisingly lean and low in calories. In fact, three ounces of lean, trimmed beef average a mere 180 calories\*. Makes you stop and think. About beef

fajitas and Japanese steak salad.

#### Cholesterol: perception vs. reality.

This should make headlines: lean, trimmed beef has no more cholesterol than chicken —without the skin.

While chicken does have less fat, moderate servings of beef fit easily within leading dietary guidelines.

**Nutritional facts rounded-up.** Lean beef has a high ratio of nutrients to calories. Number crunchers take note. Three ounces supply 38%

of the U.S. RDA for vitamin B-12 and zinc. Plus a generous 56% of U.S. RDA for protein. Not to mention 14% of the recommendation for iron. That's quite a mouthful.

**Wisdom to steer by.** Nutritionists recommend a balanced, varied diet and leaner cuts of meat. Training gurus push aerobic exercise. Stress management types suggest a month in the Baha-

mas. Grilling steaks on the beach, no doubt.

**Dinnertime in no time.** Beef is perhaps the ultimate fast food. From quick steaks and fajitas to blazing stir fries. No time left? Time for juicy leftovers.

## Beef.

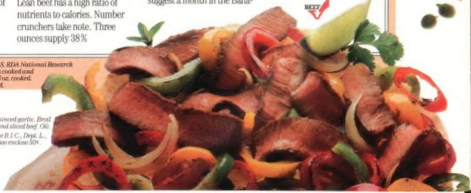
Real food for real people.

\*Source: USDA Handbook 8 (1989) Rev., U.S. RDA National Research Council 1980, 10th Edition. Figures are for a cooked and trimmed 3 oz. serving, 4 oz. uncooked yield 3 oz. cooked.  
© 1990 Beef Industry Council and Beef Board.

#### QUICK BEEF FAJITAS

Stir fry peppers and onions with cumin, oregano and minced garlic. Broil top round or sirloin. Top tortillas with vegetables and sliced beef. *Gl.*

For a beef recipe booklet, write the B.I.C., Dept. L, 444 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, IL 60611. Please enclose \$5.



## LETTERS

### THE VICE PRESIDENT

## "Give Dan Quayle a break!"

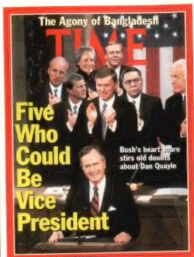
Barbara Stuvengen  
Orfordville, Wis.

In these sensitive times, the prospect of Vice President Dan Quayle's suddenly succeeding President Bush is, to put it mildly, disconcerting [NATION, May 20]. Quayle does not inspire confidence. The question facing Bush in 1992: When does loyalty to a political choice become obstinacy?

Mildred Sloane  
Des Moines

The Quayle-bashing phenomenon in the wake of President Bush's health problems amazes me. Let's face it, the U.S. political system does not select the ideal person for either President or Vice President. The best we can hope for is competence. Sometimes we get lucky. Harry Truman was not so highly regarded as Vice President, but he did a hell of a job as President.

Michael H. Gay  
La Jolla, Calif.



What we have learned about the vice presidency is that a person of reasonable ability and intelligence who applies himself or herself earnestly (and there is no reason to believe Quayle does not at least meet these modest criteria) can do a good job as President.

Ramachandran Bharath  
Irvin A. Zaenglein  
Marquette, Mich.

If America were an insignificant country, its voters could choose a Vice President for whatever stupid, partisan reasons they might think politically expedient. But as the U.S. is the most powerful nation, Americans owe it to the world to display more responsibility in selecting the person who is a heartbeat away from the presidency.

Donald Ostergard  
Drumheller, Alta.

Why the foreboding over the potential ascendancy of J. Danforth Quayle to the presidency? What could he possibly do to make our current malaise any worse? Bring him on. He may be just what we need to reveal to ourselves the third-rate nation we've become.

Jan Serphen  
San Anselmo, Calif.

You neglected to mention the strange accomplishment of one Vice President, Charles Dawes [1925-29, under Calvin Coolidge]. In 1912 he composed a melody that became a No. 1 popular hit in the late '50s, *It's All in the Game*.

Charles Henry Hull  
North Dartmouth, Mass.

Thomas R. Marshall, who served as Woodrow Wilson's Vice President (1913-21), told this story about the office: Once

# THE CELICA GT EXTRA VALUE PACKAGE CAN SAVE YOU UP TO \$800 ON THESE OPTIONS\*



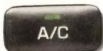
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there was a poor widow who had two sons. One went to sea, and the other became Vice President. Neither was ever heard from again.

*Milton A. Darling  
Bloomfield Hills, Mich.*

#### Trade and Pollution

In "Love Canals in the Making" [ENVIRONMENT, May 20], your article on extending the free-trade agreement between the U.S. and Mexico, you assert that the governments of both countries have paid lip service to environmental protection. For your information, under the Bush Administration, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency has broken all existing enforcement records. Polluters last year paid a record \$61.3 million in civil penalties, up 74% from the previous year. Forty percent of all civil penalties ever collected by the EPA were gathered in the past two years. The U.S. is living up to its environmental commitments. For its part, the Mexican government has been shutting down many polluting companies. A free-trade agreement will provide Mexico with the added environmental muscle it needs.

*William K. Reilly, Administrator  
U.S. Environmental Protection Agency  
Washington*

#### LETTERS

##### Madonna: Treat or Dud?

We live in a time when it is almost impossible to be outrageous. That Madonna gleefully resorts to the desecration of Christian symbols and the values they represent and makes degrading, cheap-thrill sexuality her stock-in-trade does not surprise me [PROFILE, May 20]. It's your constant fawning over her that I find appalling.

*Gordon Ely  
Richmond*

I think everybody should stop trying to dare Madonna. She can do very well on her own, obviously. Thank God for brave souls like her.

*Debbie O'Leary  
North Hollywood*

##### Old-Fashioned Genuine New Towns

While the charm of America's small-town past may in part have been a result of user-friendly streets and architecture, which planners Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk are trying to re-create [DESIGN May 20], what made the difference was that people in those towns really knew one another. These new towns can work as intended only if the residents spend less time behind locked doors watching television and more time chatting

with the neighbors over the backyard fence. Ultimately, people and their relationships are what made the small towns of the past something we hunger for in today's impersonal world.

*Roger Holley  
San Diego*

Kurt Andersen is incredibly optimistic. He claims the new planners will "build wholly new towns and cities the way our ancestors did." The old ones grew up around some commercial focus—harbors, fertile cropland, crossroads or bridges, sources of water or power, minerals—some resource. If people could earn a living there, they stayed and pursued their personal goals. Towns were the result. They came after the people, not before.

*Martin B. Reiter  
Gales Ferry, Conn.*

##### Truth in Science

Barbara Ehrenreich makes a valid point about the controversy surrounding David Baltimore and Thereza Imanishi-Kari and the falsification of scientific data [ESSAY, May 20]. She is right in castigating Baltimore for signing off on the fraudulent results as a senior scientist.

*David G. Brown  
Simi Valley, Calif.*

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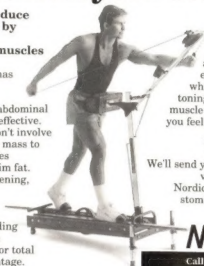
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## LETTERS

The Essay by Ehrenreich excels in hyperbole and sanctimony. She has no grounds for ridiculing the conclusions of the controversial paper, or for asserting that it caused a waste of time for scientists worldwide. Experts tell me that because cellular immunology is a murky field, the paper was valuably provocative, whether or not the conclusions stand. Whatever errors may have been committed by Baltimore in dealing with the scientific and political problems that it raised, society will only lose if the case diminishes the use of his exceptional talents and if it bureaucratizes science in the search for unattainable perfection.

Bernard D. Davis  
Professor of Microbiology Emeritus  
Harvard Medical School  
Boston

## Getting There Is Half the Fun?

Frequent flyer John Sununu's practice of using military aircraft for trips, some of them personal, didn't go down well with readers (NATION, May 6), most of whom felt taxpayers shouldn't have to foot the bill for nonofficial trips taken by the White House chief of staff. But free-lance cartoonist Paul Dillon of Maryland Heights, Mo., had a novel idea of how Sununu could keep on flying.



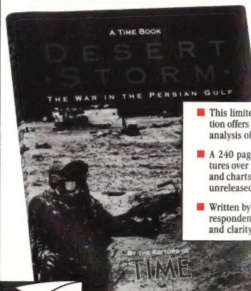
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## CRITICS' VOICES

BY TIME'S REVIEWERS/Compiled by Andrea Sachs



### TELEVISION

**DARROW** (PBS, June 7, 9 p.m. on most stations). Kevin Spacey gets the juicy role of the legendary defense attorney. Great subject and a spirited presentation, but too many Hollywood-bio clichés mar this *American Playhouse* movie.

**I, CLAUDIUS** (PBS, debuting June 9, 9 p.m. on most stations). Sex, corruption, double dealing and all those other fun things that made Rome the place to be a couple of thousand years ago. Derek Jacobi stars in this much lauded *Masterpiece Theatre* series, returning for a summer-long run.

**TWIN PEAKS** (ABC, June 10, 9 p.m. EDT). The TV world has passed him by, but Agent Cooper still has a few mysteries left to solve. The two-hour season (and probably all-time) finale may clear up one or two of them.



### BOOKS

**A SOLDIER OF THE GREAT WAR** by Mark Helprin (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich; \$24.95). In this big (792 pages) rumbustious novel, an aging Italian professor recounts his adventures during World War I. Once the long narrative gathers force, the tale moves with riotous energy and sustained brilliance.

**THE BIRTH OF THE MODERN** by Paul Johnson (HarperCollins; \$35). A quirky pop history—starting with the Battle of New Orleans and ending with the death of the first railway-accident victim—of 15 years that shaped the modern world. British author Johnson (*Modern Times*, *Intellectuals*) finds room for everything, from the decline of snuff taking among women to

artists' yearnings to produce ever bigger paintings.

**COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT** by Clark Clifford with Richard Holbrooke (Random House; \$25). Washington's nonpareil insider looks back on his years—usually in an unofficial capacity—within the penumbra of power. The behind-the-scenes anecdotes are fascinating and irresistible.



### MOVIES

**FX2: THE DEADLY ART OF ILLUSION**. Truth in advertising, guys! *The Deadly Art of Incoherence* would be a much more accurate subtitle for this sequel, which gets about halfway to agreeability and then falls back in confusion. Man cannot live—or even stay fully awake—on special effects alone.



### THEATER

**THE OLD BOY**. Sometimes A.R. Gurney (*The Dining Room*, *Love Letters*) is a wry Wasp elegist. In this powerful,

superbly played off-Broadway drama, he depicts a ruling élite suppressing a gay teenager of the 1950s.

**FROM THE MISSISSIPPI DELTA**. Launched in Chicago, a prizewinner in Washington and now at Hartford Stage Company, this gutsy story of black women in the South seemingly speaks to everybody.

**THE SUBJECT WAS ROSES**. John Mahoney is perfectly cast as the working-class-hero father in this family play, which was written just before the Generation Gap got its name and is now handsomely revived off-Broadway.



### MUSIC

**ELVIS COSTELLO: MIGHTY LIKE A ROSE** (Warner Bros.). Brother Costello again, in a nerve-wrenching excursion through the inner sanctums of his troubled spirit. Songs like *How to Be Dumb* are akin to bamboo slivers under fingernails, but Costello's humor—in full bloom here—gives them both buoyancy and added punch.

**THE KENTUCKY HEADHUNTERS: ELECTRIC BARNYARD** (Mercury). These five fellas are good-time

boys for damned sure, with a unique combination of respect and irreverence for the byways of country music. Any bunch that records *The Ballad of Davy Crockett* and brings it off with a straight face and a steady beat deserves a hunk of respect, and maybe a side order of awe.

**ROY HARGROVE: PUBLIC EYE** (Novus). At 21, trumpeter Hargrove plays with the confidence and maturity of jazzmen twice his age. With his sharp attack and liquid tone, he brings both fire and lyricism to a repertoire that is always anchored in melody. Alto-sax man Antonio Hart adds a riveting counterpoint to this tight, driving quartet.

**TOBIAS PICKER: THE ENCANTADAS** (Virgin Classics). Inspired by Herman Melville's eerie prose poems *The Encantadas*, Picker uses traditional and 20th century musical vocabularies to create a hauntingly sinister and beautiful evocation of the "evilly enchanted" Galapagos, performed by Christoph Eschenbach and the Houston Symphony with narration by Sir John Gielgud.



### ETCETERA

**WORKING PEOPLE OF RICHMOND: LIFE AND LABOR IN AN INDUSTRIAL CITY, 1865-1920**. The Valentine Museum, Richmond. The show explores the changes and impact of industrialization through audiovisual displays, working machinery and hands-on activities like stemming tobacco. June 7 through Dec. 9.

**THE YOSEMITE: PHOTOGRAPHS OF GALEN ROWELL**. The 100th anniversary of the founding of California's Yosemite National Park is marked by an exhibition of 36 color photographs, with text by Rowell and conservationist John Muir. At the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History, Washington, through June 16.

### DESIGN

**ARATA ISOZAKI 1960/1990 ARCHITECTURE**: Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles. What more fitting location for the first major retrospective of Japan's greatest postwar architect than the building that was his premier American commission? This is not just another bland collection of an architect's renderings, but an in-depth overview of the life and career of one of the world's most exciting and original designers. The event coincides with Isozaki's 60th birthday, which the Japanese consider a benchmark age at which an individual has gained sufficient wisdom to make important contributions. But as the show makes clear, Isozaki has long since left his mark on the world. The multimedia exhibit spans 30 years of his work, from his youthful visionary proposals for Tokyo in the 1960s to his current urban projects around the world. The exhibit includes a full-scale reconstruction of a tea house, 35 scale models, 200 original drawings and three high-definition TV programs. Through June 30.

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## INTERVIEW

# A Doctor for Young Democracies

**ALLEN WEINSTEIN** helps guide emerging nations toward pluralism. Now he is examining Bulgaria's role in the attempted assassination of the Pope.

By DAVID AIKMAN WASHINGTON

**Q.** So many of the leaders of the world's new emerging democracies are people who, in one way or another, have had their lives profoundly affected by the dictatorships they are replacing. Is this pattern natural? Necessary? Useful?

**A.** It is useful in important therapeutic ways. It is useful to have leaders such as Czechoslovakia's Vaclav Havel, Poland's Lech Walesa, the Philippines' Corazon Aquino, Nicaragua's Violeta Chamorro, who have all suffered directly, in order to deal with the challenge of change for a society at that moment. There is an extraordinary burden that ordinary people endure when they recognize, perhaps after decades of having been submissive, slavish, that freedom calls for a different set of imperatives, for a certain capacity for individual decision, judgment and action. I also think it's rather important, for the creation of a strong civic culture, for there to have been some type of civic protest or movement that in the worst days of dictatorship bore witness to more humane values. I do

not know of any society that will survive as a democracy that does not possess in some fashion or other that sort of civic culture.

**Q.** Is there anything that could cause a reversal of the democratic revolution in Eastern Europe?

**A.** In its underlying directions, no. But in the pace and processes of change, I suppose that a great danger in virtually all the East European countries is the trauma of the transition to a market economy. How can it be done in a way that does not leave a large percentage of the population so frustrated and bitter about the slow pace that they turn to more undemocratic leaders at the extremes? Think about the general situation. How often, in the history of the world, do you have so many simultaneous revolutions occurring, with people who are trying to change their political and economic structures and cultural norms, all simultaneously? They have precious little time to rest and focus on any of these matters.

**Q.** Do you see a danger of Eastern Europe being embroiled in ancient ethnic hatreds?

**A.** 1991 is not 1914. There exists a political, economic and cultural Europe with institutional underpinnings—the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, the European Court of Human Rights, the European Commission on Human Rights and other institutions—to which grievances can be and have been brought. Even in the Soviet Union, putting aside tragedies like the Armenian-Azerbaijani strife, the recent rapprochement between Yeltsin and his eight republican leader-colleagues and Gorbachev, however temporary it may be, suggests that people have begun to recognize a more pluralistic political culture than had existed a year ago.

**Q.** Can these positive trends be reversed by a determined show of will?

**A.** No, no, absolutely not. One must recognize, I suppose, as Arthur Schlesinger once said about the American Civil War, that history is not a redeemer promising to solve all problems in time. The situation could get worse in every one of these countries. And keep in mind another element here, the Andy Warhol line about everyone being a celebrity for 15 minutes. Well, Eastern Europe has had its 15 minutes. But you can't tear the Berlin Wall down a second time.

**Q.** One of the staples of thrillers in the past two decades has been the idea of a secret Nazi order waiting to move back into place in Germany...

**A.** ... Right, Sir Laurence Olivier as the world's ultimate dentist.

**Q.** Is there any possibility of a similar kind of wicked network of ex-communist intelligence agents plotting to destroy democracy?

**A.** In some of these countries the changes that have occurred have been so recent that there are undoubtedly groups within the intelligence community waiting their turn, looking for ways to influence events. But this concept of some disgruntled outfit out there in the backwoods—well, we have them in Idaho, after all, our own sort of neo-Nazis and survivalists waiting for their moment.

**Q.** Obviously, there is a need to protect free and open societies from people dedicated to destroying them. But is there some formula for a government that would make it strong enough to protect itself from subversion, but not so strong that it becomes oppressive?

**A.** I think oversight by a society's elected officials is absolutely critical. In the U.S. there is both presidential and congressional oversight. In the case of some of the newer democracies of Central and Eastern Europe, there is barely adequate oversight. President Zhelyu Zhelev of Bulgaria himself has complained that he doesn't know whether the KGB is still active in Bulgaria.

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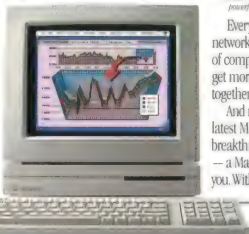
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emerging democracies have is transparency, a consistency between what they say in private and what they pronounce in public. It really knocks the socks off any paranoid intelligence officer who is waiting for that conspiracy to emerge in private. It has been a source of amazement to me how quickly the fear of arbitrary authority has disappeared throughout Central and Eastern Europe.

**Q. You have been invited to examine Bulgaria's official archives in connection with the attempted assassination of the Pope in 1981. Why do you feel it is so important for the Bulgarians, a decade later, to pursue the question of their possible involvement?**

**A.** It is not so important to know the truth or falsity of any specific theory of the case—the Bulgarian connection, or KGB connection, or Turkish mafia connection, or any other. I think it is important to know what can be known, given the fact that the Pope, arguably the most important religious figure in the 20th century, might have been snuffed out even before he began his most important work. It is an inquiry for history. President Zhelev recognizes that the inquiry into the attempted assassination of the Pope is really part of a broader inquiry into Bulgaria's history of the past 50 years, at least as far as the role played by the intelligence services. When a Communist deputy in the Bulgarian National Assembly attacked my friend Zhelev, saying "Why can't we just turn the page?" Zhelev replied, "Absolutely. But first we must read it."

**Q. What would be the impact if it turned out that there was a KGB smoking gun indicating links between Moscow and Sofia in this assassination attempt?**

**A.** There are relatively few smoking guns in history. I think at this point all I would care to say is that we will try to take the evidence as far as it will carry us. And given the limitations of evidence, it may not carry us all the way we would like to go.

**Q. Is Africa going democratic?**

**A.** The whole political climate in Africa has been affected by the issues of democratization and the changeover from state-dominated economies to mixed-market economies. You have profound problems in places like Zaire and Kenya, but the continent is on the move in the direction of where the West has been.

**Q. Why does there seem to be a much greater resistance to the idea of a civic culture with democratic political values in the Arab world than in, say, black Africa?**

**A.** Partly because of the strength of the Arab hereditary monarchies or the military regimes or one-party regimes that have replaced them, partly the extraordinary range of internal conflicts within the region, partly the tug of Islamic funda-

mentalism. But even in a country like Iran, you see a remarkable range of disagreement that has internalized pluralism. There are patterns emerging that create a kind of rough balance between more or less secular forces, even within the Islamic framework of the country. You are finding a similar evolution in Jordan.

Kuwait offers an opportunity, but I'm not certain that Kuwaitis may not be in the process of missing it. Now is the time when they should be restructuring their constitution, developing some kind of representative assembly and providing for other mechanisms, including media dissent, that allow a safety valve for the expression of discontent without shooting those in power. I realize they have very pressing economic and other problems. But I've never known a society in the history of the world where the quest for bread and the quest for freedom were necessarily in conflict with the quest for some type of economic stability. In most countries, at the most basic level, ordinary people want both. People cannot afford *not* to have a democracy. It is not a luxury, it's a necessity.

**Q. What do you make of the current debate on American college campuses over "political correctness"? How does this mesh with democratic values?**

**A.** What worries me is the narrowing of discourse on a number of university campuses, the narrowing in the range of philosophical perspectives, the abandonment of the masterworks of Western civilization.

**Q. But how do you account for the fact that when so much of the world is embracing the idea of freedom, some university faculties in the largest Western democracy are promoting exactly opposite values?**

**A.** Irving Howe once called a certain type of faculty member a "gorilla with tenure." You can confront the arguments for political correctness on campus, but the struggle has to be constant. There will always be people who try to enforce a lazy intellectual position. The best antidote would be to expose the holders of those views to what a real dictatorship is like and what happens to people when a set of ideas is enforced.

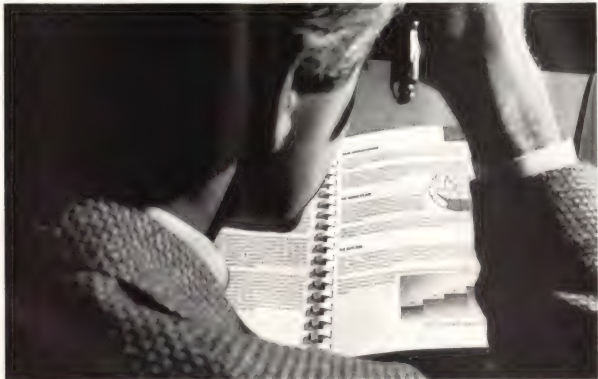
**Q. How did you get into this business?**

**A.** I first organized a citizens' group, including Soviet dissidents in exile, that went to Madrid in 1980 for the human rights follow-up to the Helsinki agreement. In 1983 I coordinated a study group that led to the creation of the National Endowment for Democracy, of which I was the first president. But I resigned to go into the "private sector" [to work] on democracy. I felt—and feel—more comfortable designing programs than giving out money.

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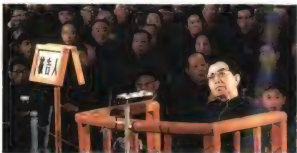
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## GRAPEVINE

By SIDNEY URQUHART / Reported by Linda Williams



### A Widow Dies In China

Beijing sources say that Jiang Qing, 77, widow of Chairman Mao Zedong and ringleader of the infamous Gang of Four, committed suicide late last month. She is believed to have hanged herself at the suburban Beijing villa where she had been under virtual house arrest since her trial and conviction 10 years ago for helping to carry out the Cultural Revolution that bloodied China from 1966 to 1976. Jiang, who was known to have throat cancer, may have wished to cut short her suffering. Her death comes at an awkward time for the Beijing gov-

ernment, concerned just now with the anniversary of the June 1989 massacre in Tiananmen. Although Jiang had nothing to do with that event, a public announcement of her death could conceivably ignite a new wave of disturbances.

### Right Fish, Wrong State

"Montana's legendary rivers and lakes offer anglers the opportunity to catch wild trout in a pristine environment," gushes the promotional copy on the state's 1980-91 tourist map. Certainly the instructions to photographer Steve Bly seemed clear enough: go forth into the

wilderness and bring back a shot of a "good-looking man with a big trout." But Bly went too far afield to snap his fisherman and his fish—all the way to the Boise River in neighboring Idaho. With more than a million of the embarrassing maps in circulation, Montana commerce director Chuck Brooke is angling for damage control. Said he: "I thought that fish was kind of small for a Montana trout."

### A Star Is Born In the Soviet Union

Amid the desolation of economic collapse, the Soviet aerospace industry has come up with an apparent winner. Flown by a crack new aerobatic team from Moscow, MIG-29 Fulcrum-D jet fighters dazzled spectators at a French air base last month with demonstrations of the Soviet-invented "cobra" maneuver. In a chilling imitation of a striking snake, the aircraft rockets upward from a standing start, slows to a near standstill as the pilot pulls its nose just past the 90° point, flies backward in that position and then snaps forward again and resumes normal flight. U.S. military officers dismiss the maneuver as impractical for com-



bat, but the sleek blue-and-white fighters are expected to star at this month's Salon Aéronautique Espace in Paris.

### The Hazards of A Messy Desk

If there's anyone who should know how to guard against leaks, it's John Martin, chief of internal security at the Justice Department. Yet Martin went home from the office one night in April, leaving a thick pile of supersensitive documents on the Iran-contras affair sitting on his desk. A routine security sweep that night revealed his carelessness and earned Martin an immediate suspension. Justice insiders say Martin may receive further punishment for the accidental security breach but will probably be able to return to his job.

### Who Says We Have To Be Consistent?

When it comes to trademarks, a Hollywood studio is fending off lawyers with one hand and dialing them with the other. It seems the forthcoming MGM-Pathé buddy flick, *Harley Davidson and the Marlboro Man*, starring Don Johnson and Mickey Rourke, has the folks at Harley-Davidson and Philip Morris USA fretting about a dubious portrayal of two famous brand names. MGM-Pathé demurs, citing such precedents as *Cadillac Man* and *The Coca-Cola Kid*. But in New York City the studio is taking what appears to be the opposite side of the issue. MGM-Pathé is suing a gay and lesbian organization called the Pink Panthers, which patrols the streets to protect homosexual men and women from roving gangs of gay bashers. The Hollywood studio contends that the group's name and activities undermine the beloved public image of the bumbling Inspector Clouseau.

## Benefit Beat

Ever since George Harrison gathered with Ringo Starr, Eric Clapton, Bob Dylan and Ravi Shankar at Madison Square Garden for the 1971 benefit concert for Bangladesh,

philanthropic pop has been a booming business. And in the caring, sharing '90s, a new formula has emerged: the compilation album. Among the best:



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**For:** Pediatric AIDS  
**Theme:** Children's songs  
**Stars:** Bob Dylan, Bruce Springsteen, Paul McCartney, Elton John, Sting, Ziggy Marley, Bette Midler  
**Best Cuts:** Dylan's quirky *This Old Man*, Little Richard's sassy *Itsy Bitsy Spider*, Elton's jazzy *The Pacifier*



#### DEDICATED

**Rainforest Action Network**  
**Songs by the Grateful Dead**  
**Elvis Costello, Bruce Hornsby & the Range, Suzanne Vega, Cowboy Junkies, Midnight Oil, Jane's Addiction**  
**Los Lobos' exultant *Bertha*, Lyle Lovett's *Friend of the Devil*, Costello's *Ship of Fools***



#### RED HOT + BLUE

**AIDS research and relief**  
**Songs by Cole Porter**  
**The Neville Brothers, David Byrne, Tom Waits, Lisa Stansfield, Annie Lennox, Debbie Harry and Iggy Pop**  
**U2's galvanizing *Night and Day*, k.d. lang's torchy *So in Love*, Fine Young Cannibals' silky *Love for Sale***



#### TAME YOURSELF

**People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals**  
**Songs by animal lovers**  
**The Pretenders, Howard Jones, k.d. lang, the B-52s, Belinda Carlisle, Exene Cervenka**  
**A live version of B-52's *Quiche Lorraine*, lang's *Damned Old Dog*, Cervenka's *Do What I Have to Do***

## FROM THE PUBLISHER

**W**e're do-it-yourselfers at TIME. To the greatest extent possible, we like to produce each issue with our own staff, because we believe that's the best guarantee of quality. Last month we became self-reliant in an important new area, a complex technological process called imaging. Through a network of computers and electronic equipment, imaging makes it possible to convert photographs, illustrations and other graphic aspects of the magazine into electronic data. These data can be stored, displayed on computer screens and eventually used to produce the pages you read. TIME is unique among major American news publications in being able to do the entire process without calling upon outside services. That has important benefits for the reader.

"Having our own imaging capability makes the production process more responsive to the news," says Mark Stelzner, our manager of imaging operations. The old system involved an elaborate flow pattern—a little like a Super Bowl play—of pictures, paper layouts and computer data, tied to three separate computer systems. Whenever there was a news event or we wanted to use a better picture, those complexities made any change a chore.

Under the new system, we have all our own imaging equipment, which sits in a user-friendly room adjacent to the art and picture departments, where most of the material originates. "Now changes can be made at almost any stage of the production process," Stelzner says, "right up until the magazine goes to the printing plants." That makes it easier to accommodate up-to-the-minute photographs like those of the Rajiv Gandhi funeral.

Because the shortened lines of communication make the production process more efficient, the staff of 15 specialists that



*Stelzner at the helm in the imaging console room at TIME headquarters in New York City*

**"Having our own imaging capability makes the production process more responsive to the news."**

Stelzner assembled has more time to perfect its work. The staff can start earlier on the color correction of photographs, a technique performed on the computer imaging screens to ensure that pictures appear on the page with the same richness they have in the original photographs. "People still make the critical decisions," Stelzner insists. "There's no technology that can interpret color better than the human eye." A reassuring thought, because the object of all this effort is to turn out more pleasing pages for the eyes of our readers.

*Robert L. Miller*



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TIME/JUNE 10, 1991

## LESSONS OF DESERT STORM

# Phantom Army

**For the most part the National Guard fought well in the gulf. But some outfits, plagued by no-shows and poor training, never got to the front.**

By ALEX PRUD'HOMME

**F**ew institutions are as quintessentially American as the National Guard. Founded by the colonists in 1607, bloodied in the Revolution as the Minutemen, the Guard has served in every major U.S. conflict, and acts as a first line of defense when natural disasters strike. The 574,000 Guard members en-

rolled in 4,000 units are the military's link to civilian society: part-time soldiers who are supposed to devote a minimum of 12 weekends and one two-week period each year to prepare themselves for battle.

Since 1973, when the Pentagon abandoned the draft and installed the all-volunteer armed forces, the Guard, along with the armed forces reserves, has assumed a more central role in military planning. The

Defense Department's Total Force policy is designed to have units of the Air National Guard and reserves and Army Guard support troops available for quick deployment; in the event of a war lasting more than a few weeks, heavy-combat Guard and reserve units would be called up to round out divisions of the regular Army. Based on the military's commitment to Total Force, Congress has poured more than \$100 billion



Georgia's nonfighting 48th Brigade is welcomed home



Adjusting sights in a Bradley Fighting Vehicle

into training the Guard and equipping its troops during the past decade.

The strategy got its first real test in Operation Desert Storm, when 228,500 Guard members and reservists were called up for active duty in the biggest mobilization since the Korean War. More than 100,000 of these part-time soldiers were sent to the Persian Gulf, while the remainder filled in Stateside for the departing regular forces.

The gulf deployment showed the best, and the worst, of the weekend warriors. Air National Guard fighters and attack planes knocked out Iraqi tanks, and the Air Reserve conducted a huge airlift of troops and matériel. A force composed of the Marine Reserve blasted through Saddam Hussein's defenses and led the way to Kuwait City.

At the same time, though, the Army encountered major difficulties in deploying its National Guard troops. Several thousand Guard members on the rosters could not be sent to the gulf because they had not attended basic training. Some were too old, others overweight and out of shape. A full 5% suffered from dental problems that needed treatment.

Far more alarming was the attempted mobilization of three so-called round-out brigades, each of which had been scheduled to augment a regular Army division. Although the Pentagon had given all the units a C-2 rating, its second highest standard of battle readiness, the three brigades—totaling 15,000, one-fourth of the Army Guard members summoned to active duty—were declared unfit for combat by regular Army commanders and could not be sent to the gulf.

**T**hose failures have ignited an angry debate between the Pentagon, which wants to reduce the number of standby soldiers, and the weekend warriors' supporters in Congress. The dispute has become acrimonious because the Guard, the reserves and the regular armed forces are all fighting for a share of a defense budget that will shrink 20% during the next four years. The Guard's defenders accuse the Department of Defense of having kept the Guard and reserves out of the fray so that regular units could get more than a fair share of future

appropriations. "The Pentagon took the position that they simply weren't going to use combat reserves," says Mississippi Democrat G.V. ("Sonny") Montgomery, the reserves' leading champion in the House. "That's not the Total Force concept Congress had in mind."

Military leaders retort that rushing unprepared troops into action would have been irresponsible. Says Defense Secretary Dick Cheney: "I feel very strongly we would have run the risk of getting a lot of people killed unnecessarily if we sent units [to the gulf] before they were ready." Cheney argues that a balanced reduction in the overall strength of the armed services will require cutbacks in the Guard and reserves: "If we're going to cut active-duty personnel, and we are—the Army's going from 18 active to 12 active divisions—I don't need as many reservists and Guardsmen to back them up." Some of the duties the Guard now performs could be transferred to regular units, a prospect that raised alarms on Capitol Hill. Over Cheney's objections, the House voted two weeks ago to add \$650 million to the



Training in California was the closest the unit ever got to desert combat

## The Little Unit That Couldn't

**T**he 48th Mechanized Infantry Brigade of the Georgia National Guard appears to exemplify all that can go wrong with the Total Force policy. Some \$40 million a year was spent to train and equip the 48th, which was considered a crack Guard unit. In the event of war, it was scheduled to augment the regular Army's 24th Mechanized Infantry Division. Said General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of the 24th before he was tapped to lead Desert Storm: "I expect them to fight alongside us. They are, in fact, combat ready."

But when the 24th Division was rushed to the gulf last August, the 48th, which was finally called up on Nov. 30, was re-

placed by a regular Army brigade. In December the 48th was put through a rigorous desert-warfare program at the National Training Center at Fort Irwin, Calif. It was not until Feb. 28, the day the gulf war ended, that the 48th was deemed fit to fight.

Brigadier General William A. Holland, commander of the 48th until his dismissal last February, maintains his unit was a victim of Army politics. "There is no question I was the whipping boy of the Army," Holland said. "They had us convinced that we weren't worth a toot. But in mock battles we did well." Army officials, however, insist that the 48th suffered from deficient leadership and training, poorly maintained equipment and key personnel sidelined with medical conditions. The 48th did set one record, however: the brigade spent more time at the NTC than any other unit since the training center opened in 1981. ■

## Nation

\$18 billion the Pentagon had requested for the Guard and reserves in 1992. It also voted to trim a planned cutback in Guard and reserve strength from 108,000 to 37,500.

However the argument over funding is resolved, Desert Storm illuminated shortcomings, especially in the Army National Guard, that must be corrected if the weekend warriors are to play an effective role in the nation's defense. The problems fall into three overlapping categories:

**Lack of Readiness.** Over the past three years, the government's General Accounting Office has issued several reports about

on the payroll even though they have missed more than the nine drills allowed by Pentagon regulations. "The Guard has people who show up for two or three drills, and they're never taken off the books," says John Womack, who retired as adjutant general of the Montana National Guard in 1980. "They're kept on the records as long as they can be, so when their strength figures go to Washington, they're still on the books."

**Sagging Morale.** The Desert Storm call-up confronted many in the Guard with an obligation they thought they would never

serves, which are controlled directly by the Pentagon. National Guard units are constitutionally protected creatures of the states and territories where they maintain their headquarters. Unless the President calls them up, Guard units are at the command of Governors, who also choose their senior officers. It is almost impossible for an officer to become a state adjutant general without being a master of politics.

All that tends to create a climate in which cronyism and favoritism can flourish. In addition, the Guards are a potent force in local and congressional elections; the lawmakers who support hefty budgets for units

filled with their constituents don't like to be told by critics that the money is not being well spent. On top of that, some Guard officers fear that a determined drive to raise attendance and training standards could lead to massive disgruntlement in the ranks and a wave of resignations. Says Colonel Patrick Garvey, commander of Camp Smith, a Guard facility in Peekskill, N.Y.: "In reality, it's an all-volunteer force based in the home community. If [the troops] are not happy, if they don't like the game, they'll go home."

Balanced against those negatives is a fact of enormous importance in an era of federal austerity: on average, it costs only one-fourth as much to train an Army Guard member as it does to train a full-time soldier. That point was forcefully made last month in a letter to Cheney signed by 54 Senators from both parties. They charged that the Defense chief's plans to downsize the Guard "fail to recognize [its]

cost-effectiveness... and, in effect, discards the Total Force policy at the precise time it has proven successful."

The real question is what mix of regular and backup forces the U.S. needs for the challenges of the post-cold war era. Most foreign policy experts predict that future wars will be like the one in the gulf: intensely violent regional flare-ups that will play out in a matter of months at most. In those circumstances, it makes little sense to rely on large numbers of part-time soldiers, especially ground troops, who cannot be readied for combat before the fighting is over. But if the experts are wrong and the nation finds itself bogged down in a protracted struggle, it cannot afford to be without deep reserves. Whatever its numbers, the Guard must be better prepared than it is today to carry out its mission. —*Reported by Kristina Rebello and Bruce van Voorst/Washington*



California National Guard troops rushed to the gulf in support of Operation Desert Shield

slipshod training and severe shortages of equipment in Guard units around the country. Among the items listed in the GAO's February 1991 study: during a training exercise, one unit had only 40% of the chemical-warfare equipment it needed; a helicopter battalion was unable to practice because it was given only two usable anti-tank missiles for live-fire exercises; and an infantry battalion received only 19 of the 60 tow missiles it had requested. All too often, the GAO reported, Guard units have failed to acquire combat skills because their training exercises are so unrealistic. Most disheartening, the agency concluded, few improvements have been made since similar problems were detected in 1989.

**Absenteeism.** Critics of the Guard have long charged that the ranks of some units have been artificially swollen with "ghosts"—phantom soldiers who remain

have to fulfill: abruptly leaving their jobs and families to march off to war. Untold numbers of recent recruits had enlisted mainly for the pay and never expected to face combat. Moreover, since many Guard units are assigned to logistical and other support duties needed to transport the massive amounts of military supplies sent to the gulf back to the U.S., they were forced to remain in the war zone long after virtually all the regular troops were sent home. Not until two weeks ago did the Defense Department announce specific departure dates for the remaining units. Over the years the Defense Department has tried to alleviate these problems, and in fact considerable progress has been made. Some Guard units received the latest tanks and infantry fighting vehicles before comparable regular soldiers did.

But often these attempts at reform run into a hard political reality: unlike the re-

## PUBLIC SERVICE

# The Golden Rocking Chair

**Thanks to fat pensions, many retired officials make more than those still on the job**

By **HAYS GOREY** WASHINGTON

**T**hough many Americans are worried that their poorly invested pension funds might go bust and leave them penniless in retirement, one class of employees has no such concerns: top federal officials. It's not just that their benefits are guaranteed by the U.S. Treasury and thus protected from the economic shocks that have wrecked some company plans. Thanks to a generous cost of living index scheme that would be extremely rare in private industry—a plan that the U.S. Congress designed mainly for its own benefit—

many former federal officeholders actually make more for not working than they ever did on the job. Some even outearn incumbents in the offices they once held. "Congressional pensions are typically two to three times more generous than those in the private sector," says David Keating, who heads a watchdog group called the National Taxpayers Union. Much the same could be said of presidential pensions. This year, for instance, former President Gerald Ford will receive \$20,000 more in his golf-oriented retirement than George Bush will draw as leader of the free world. Some examples of lavish retirement benefits:

## EX-PRESIDENTS



**Richard Nixon**, 78, resigned the presidency in 1974 after serving four years in the House, two in the Senate, eight as Vice President and 5½ in the White House.

Salary last year in office: **\$200,000**  
 Presidential pension: **\$138,900**  
 Congressional-military pension: **\$38,615**



**Gerald Ford**, 77, retired in 1977 after 25 years in the House, 10 months as Vice President and almost 2½ years as President.

Salary last year in office: **\$200,000**  
 Presidential pension: **\$138,900**  
 Congressional-military pension: **\$81,216**

## EX-SENATORS



**Mike Mansfield**, 88, retired in 1988 after 10 years in the House, 24 years in the Senate (16 as majority leader) and 11 years as ambassador to Japan.

Salary last year in Congress: **\$52,000**  
 Total government pension: **\$150,090**



**Margaret Chase Smith**, 93, retired in 1973 after nine years in the House and 24 years in the Senate.

Salary last year in office: **\$42,500**  
 Congressional pension: **\$92,975**



**Albert Gore Sr.**, 83, was defeated for reelection in 1970 after 13 years in the House and 18 in the Senate.

Salary last year in office: **\$42,500**  
 Congressional pension: **\$93,346**



**William Fulbright**, 86, retired in 1974 after two years in the House and 29 years in the Senate. He was chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for 15 years.

Salary last year in office: **\$42,500**  
 Congressional pension: **\$83,282**

## EX-CONGRESSMEN



**Carl Albert**, 83, retired in 1977 after 30 years in the House, including six as Speaker.

Salary last year in office: **\$65,600**  
 Congressional pension: **\$110,138**



**Tip O'Neill**, 78, retired in 1987 after 34 years in the House, including 10 as Speaker.

Salary last year in office: **\$97,900**  
 Congressional pension: **\$72,436**



**L.A. OR SEATTLE?** Smog blights a crystal-clear skyline



**L.A. OR PHOENIX?** Traffic jams are becoming a way of life

## Nation

### THE URBAN CRISIS

# Everybody's Fall Guy

**As Los Angeles' neighbors sink under smog, crime and uncurbed development, they have made the city a whipping boy for all their woes**

By **JORDAN BONFANTE** LOS ANGELES

**Los Angelization:** 1) The process in which rapid population growth, uncontrolled development, increasing congestion, rampant crime and environmental damage combine to make other cities in the Western U.S. resemble Los Angeles. 2) A descent into urban hell.

Sniping at Los Angeles for its smog, sprawl and gridlocked freeways is a time-honored pastime in the West. Traditionally, the gibing has been mixed with an abiding envy of the California megalopolis' trend-setting dynamism. But lately no amount of envy—or imitation—seems enough to offset the vitriol that is being aimed at L.A. from every direction. Los Angeles has become the butt of abject opprobrium—the "villain" of the West.

In cities from Tucson to Tacoma, the term Los Angelization has become shorthand for the complex of urban problems that spring from trying to absorb huge influxes of new people. As residents of fast-growing Western cities contemplate the noxious haze descending on their skylines, the cookie-cutter subdivisions springing up on previously untrammeled hillsides and in pristine deserts, the freeway-

choking traffic jams and the youth gangs dealing crack on their street corners, they fear that L.A.'s present could be their future, and the prospect throws them. When people in San Diego conjure up a Boshian vision of a solid urban corridor stretching 130 miles from Los Angeles south to the Mexican border, they call their nightmare "Los Diego." Consider these other examples:

► This week in Santa Barbara, citizens will vote on a special bond issue to link the city to the state water system. The choice is difficult because while state-supplied water would help relieve severe drought conditions, it might also encourage a burst of unwanted new development that many residents fear could turn the exclusive coastal enclave into a Los Angeles suburb.

► In the past four years, market towns like Fresno and once sleepy agricultural centers like Visalia in California's San Joaquin Valley have become some of the fastest-growing cities in the West. In the process, the pristine air has been fouled by smog.

And what does that make many residents think of? Answers a banner headline in the *San Francisco Chronicle*: **SAN JOAQUIN HAS SEEN THE FUTURE—AND IT LOOKS LIKE L.A.**

► In Seattle, Los Angeles bashing has become a marketing tool. Radio commercials for the Puget Sound Bank emphasize the popularity of Seattle-built Boeings over Southern California-built McDonnell Douglas aircraft. TV commercials for Rainier Brewing Co. contrast Beverly Hills-style poodles, prissy food and gold lamé leotards with the manifest Northwest manliness of Rainier Light Beer.

► In Phoenix, whose population soared from 1.5 million to 2.1 million during the past 10 years, Los Angeles is regularly held up as a disfiguring pox to be avoided at all costs. Two fatal shootings on local freeways last month were quickly characterized by commuters as "L.A.-style freeway killings."

► Even the haze at the Grand Canyon, 400 miles away in the Arizona desert, is being blamed on Los Angeles. An air-quality study conducted since 1987 found traces of methyl chloroform, a chemical used in L.A.-based aerospace and electronics industries, in the canyon's atmosphere. Says Washing-

**PLAN**

Prevent Los Angelization Now!

**STOP THE  
LOS ANGELIZATION  
OF SAN DIEGO**



**L.A. OR TUCSON?** Gangs are taking over the streets



**L.A. OR SAN DIEGO?** Overdevelopment invades the desert

ton University chemist Warren White, one of the report's authors: "Even when you've left L.A., you can't escape L.A. air."

The anti-Los Angeles trend has gone far beyond mere carping to affect local elections all over the region. The influence grows in direct proportion to a city's proximity to L.A. In San Diego (pop. 1.1 million, vs. 875,000 in 1980), Los Angeles is regarded as the Wicked Witch of the North, just 120 miles away. "San Diego has never been sure of what it wanted to be when it grew up," remarks San Diego *Tribune* editor Neil Morgan. "What it did know was that it did not want to become L.A."

To that end, San Diego has a grass-roots political organization with 5,000 dues-paying members that calls itself Prevent Los Angelization Now! It is collecting signatures for a ballot initiative to impose a comprehensive "managed growth" plan on San Diego's city government. On the strength of polls showing that as many as 80% of voters favor slower growth, organizer Peter Navarro, a public-policy professor at the University of California at Irvine, believes that a new political alliance is forming that confounds old party lines.

"On the right you've got the fiscal conservatives, who ever since Proposition 13 [which launched the tax revolt in 1978 by cutting property taxes] have said, 'We don't want to pay for growth,'" he says. "On the left you've got the liberal environmentalists. And then you've got everybody in between, who are simply sick and tired of traffic congestion, overcrowded schools, crime and beaches that are polluted by sewage spills."

San Luis Obispo, a scenic town of 42,000 on California's central coast, until recently displayed a road sign with a happy face urging people to SMILE, YOU ARE

192 MILES FROM L.A. Mounting anti-growth pressure is aimed not only at Los Angeles as the symbol of overdevelopment but also at the increasing number of escapees from L.A., whose arrival is regarded as a threat to small-town ways. When Cornelius Deasy, 72, left L.A. to retire there and applied for water-drawing rights to irrigate his new popcorn farm, his neighbors were enraged. "We were the Ugly Americans," he recalls with a smile. When the newcomers themselves join the slow-growth movement—as they increasingly tend to do—they wind up getting rapped by both sides in disputes. Long-term residents resent them for coming in the first place, and the pro-growth camp, made up largely of local businessmen and tourism promoters, castigates them for wanting to shut the gate behind them after they get there. Complains Edward Biagini, a hotelier and pro-growth advocate in nearby Morro Bay: "The people who come up to buy houses—they're the ones who scream loudest about 'No growth!'"

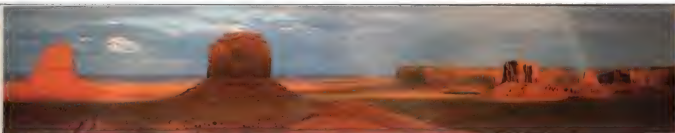
**T**hat is not the only irony. The anti-Los Angeles mood, in fact, is profoundly ambivalent. Many inhabitants of secondary cities would dearly like to have the opportunities and higher wage scales that exist in Los Angeles, but without the tensions of expansion. As a result, the political consequences of the growth debate are frequently contradictory. In San Luis Obispo last spring, voters defeated a ballot measure that would have restricted new development one-third, to the statewide growth level of 2.4% a year. But just five months later, the same voters opted for a slow-growth majority on the board of supervisors.

One explanation for the contradictory voting patterns is that controlling growth

has become a motherhood issue for political candidates: no one dare oppose it. "Nobody in his right mind stands up and says, 'I'm the pro-growth candidate,' even when he is," notes San Diego campaign consultant Thomas Shepard. Voters themselves are of two minds about development. "We're schizophrenic about growth," admits Peggy Rubach, the mayor of Mesa, Ariz., a Phoenix suburb whose population has nearly doubled, to 240,000, in the past 10 years. "We want the jobs, but we don't want the problems that come with them."


And what is Los Angeles doing to counter the antagonism? For one thing, a recently reorganized convention and visitors bureau will soon start an aggressive \$10 million-a-year campaign to "market" the city. Civic leaders led by Mayor Tom Bradley have stepped up their travel abroad to promote the Los Angeles area's position as the country's busiest port, second largest financial center (after New York City) and gateway to the Pacific Rim. Mainly, though, L.A.'s boosters are counting on the very factor that makes the city an object of scorn: the expansive growth that makes it possible for businesses to thrive.

Even with the closing of a Lockheed manufacturing plant in Burbank last year and the loss of other industries to other Western cities, forecasters predict a net increase of new businesses in the five-county Los Angeles area in 1991. During the decade of the 1980s, in fact, 40% more businesses flocked to or were started up in L.A. than ran away, a burst of enterprise that covetous rival cities rarely match. Such economic success makes it easier for Los Angeles to endure its vile reputation. Says Mesa's Mayor Rubach with a shrug: "If we didn't also want what L.A. has, we wouldn't try to lure it away, would we?" ■



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**Mazda Navajo** In a place studded with saguaros, gouged by arroyos, and knee-deep in cholla, it helps to know Navajo.

The new Mazda Navajo. A four-wheeler so tough and smart, the editors of *Motor Trend* saw fit to name it the "1991 Truck of the Year." 

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They went on to say, "The Navajo enjoys

a significant cost advantage over virtually all of its comparably-equipped competitors. Despite this key edge, it boasts...a full spectrum of power-assisted amenities...sport seats...power disc/drum brakes with rear ABS...and four-speaker AM/FM sound system."

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## American Notes



Bush: grinning and bearing

### BAILOUTS

## \$950 Million To Go

The 1988 collapse of Denver's Silverado Banking, Savings & Loan Association was expected to cost taxpayers more than \$1 billion. That burden was eased ever so slightly last week when presidential son Neil Bush and 12 other former associates of Silverado agreed to cough up \$49.5 million as part of a settlement of the Federal Government's \$200 million civil suit alleging gross negligence and insider dealings.

Under the plan, former officers, directors and lawyers of the failed thrift will pay the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation \$26.5 million and turn over to the agency a \$23 million executive-indemnity fund established by Silverado before it was seized by the government three years ago. For Neil Bush, 36, an outside director of Silverado from 1985 to 1988, the development marks the latest setback in his ill-starred business career. Last April, in a separate action, the Office of Thrift Supervision formally reprimanded him for engaging in "unsafe" and "unsound" practices involving conflicts of interest.

### DEFENSE

## Turning Off The Radars

When it comes to military cost cutting, the sky's the limit. Starting July 1, the Pentagon will save \$38 million a year by shutting down the radar command center at Mountain Home Air Force Base in Idaho, one of the two major monitoring facilities that constantly scan the heavens for Soviet bombers flying toward North America. The other center, at Bangor Air National Guard Base in Maine, will continue operating, but on a part-time basis. "I think it's better than nothing," says Republican Senator William Cohen of Maine, who lobbied to keep the Bangor radar working. But he expects it to provide only a minimal safeguard. U.S. military officials insist, however, that the country will not be caught with its guard down. The Pentagon plans to rely more on its vast network of sensors and intelligence operations to protect North America against the possibility of a Soviet air attack.

### LAW ENFORCEMENT

## Wanted: Ethnic G-Persons

Are you intelligent, curious, persistent, tough and straight as a laser beam? If you are all of the above—and also black, Hispanic, Asian Native American or a woman—you may qualify for the Federal Bureau of Investigation and get your college tuition paid by the government.

This month FBI director William Sessions will ask Congress for legislation creating an FBI version of the time-honored ROTC (Reserve Officers' Training Corps) program to recruit minority students who need financial aid to finish college. Sessions' aim is to bring ethnic and gender diversity to the bureau, whose 10,094 special agents include just 485



In 1985 Rose posed before a shot at Cobb

### BASEBALL

## It Takes One To Play One

He may not be a role model anymore, but Pete Rose has found what may be a model role. This week the onetime Cincinnati

Reds star, who is barred from baseball for gambling, will begin filming *The Babe Ruth Story*, an NBC made-for-TV movie. Rose will play Ty Cobb, the volatile Detroit outfielder who reigned as baseball's best hitter every year but one (1916) between 1907 and 1919. Talk about typecasting! Rose broke Cobb's long-standing record for most hits (4,191) in 1985 and went on to collect 4,256 before retiring in 1986; like Cobb, he had a reputation as a hell raiser on the field and off. While Rose never

sharpened his spikes to tear up infielders, both enjoyed good fistfights with opponents. For good measure, Cobb was also accused of gambling. If Rose's movie career takes off, maybe next time he can play yet another celebrated baseball reprobate: Pete Rose.

blacks, 557 Hispanics, 135 Asians, 39 Native Americans and 1,078 women.

One reason for recruiting more ethnic agents: they are needed to penetrate organized crime, which is increasingly populated by black, Hispanic and Asian gangsters. There is another motive: two major discrimination suits have been brought against the FBI by minority agents in the past four years, and the bureau is seeking to clean up its reputation for in-house bigotry.



Sessions gives a new agent his badge

### ENVIRONMENT

## Mothers of Prevention

For years the barrios of largely Latino East Los Angeles have been a dumping ground for unwanted projects, from noisy freeway interchanges to no fewer than six jails. But last week, after six years of agitation marked by four lawsuits, 16 hearings and six mile-long protest marches, the 400-strong Mothers of East L.A. passed around cookies to celebrate a major victory: cancellation of a proposed commercial incinerator they claimed could spew cancer-causing particles over the community by burning 22,500 tons of used motor oil and industrial sludge annually. Citing "political pressure" and the prospect of "interminable litigation," attorneys for Security Environmental Systems, which was to build the facility, ruefully announced "abandonment" of the project.

## ETHIOPIA

# Rebels Take Charge

**The guerrillas seize the capital and agree to help form a peace government, but a unified and democratic Ethiopia remains a quixotic dream**

By LISA BEYER

**F**inding himself one moment a rebel, the next the de facto ruler of Ethiopia, Meles Zenawi allowed himself a wry comment during a press conference in London last week. Asked about the banner hanging behind him, a red flag emblazoned with the image of an AK-47, the modern guerrilla's weapon of choice, the leader of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front smiled. "I suppose we won't use the Kalashnikov anymore," he said, giving voice to widespread hopes that the decades of civil war in Ethiopia were finally over.

But Meles spoke too soon. Within 24 hours his soldiers, who had just taken over the capital of Addis Ababa, were again firing their guns. This time they battled not government forces but thousands of civilians who had taken to the streets to protest the sudden ascendancy of Meles' maverick hand. It was a curious reaction, considering that Meles' troops had deposed Mengistu Haile Mariam, the onetime lieutenant colonel who had ruled Ethiopia for 14 bloody years. The demonstrations and crackdowns left at least 10 dead and an additional 400 wounded.

To be fair, it could have been worse, as it has been elsewhere. The recent fall of governments in Liberia and Somalia invited spasms of bloodletting that make the tumult in Ethiopia look like a tiff between friends. Still, the unrest in Addis Ababa

laid bare the factional divisions that continue to plague Ethiopia, a country that has 70 ethnic groups and at least as many different languages. Holding together the country, or what remains of it, will be as daunting a task for the new regime as it was for the fallen one.

The Democratic Front's saunter into Addis Ababa was not really part of anyone's plan, including the rebels'. Early last week the organization—along with guerrilla groups representing Eritrean and Oromo rebels—met with officials of the teetering central government for U.S.-brokered peace talks in London. The negotiations were made urgent by rebel pushes that put the Democratic Front just outside the capital and the Eritreans in command of all of Eritrea province. These advances prompted Mengistu to flee to Zimbabwe two weeks ago. After just a day, the parties were on the verge of agreeing to a cease-fire and a broadly based provisional government that would prepare the country for free elections.

But before the deal could be signed and implemented, the regime of Mengistu's handpicked successor, Tesfaye Gebr Kidan, imploded. Government troops turned on one another. Soldiers wantonly looted state property. Desperate, Tesfaye summoned Robert Houdek, the U.S. chargé d'affaires in Addis Ababa, to tell him he could no longer control the situation. The interim Ethiopian leader promised he would issue a unilateral cease-fire

and tell the people of the capital to welcome the rebels into the city.

Tesfaye never followed through on his second pledge, but he did proclaim a cease-fire before seeking asylum at the Italian embassy. At that point, Herman Cohen, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, announced in London that the U.S. was "recommending" that the Democratic Front enter Addis Ababa quickly "to stabilize the situation." The front obliged.

Cohen's encouragement of the group's takeover made the U.S. the target of much of the animosity vented in Addis Ababa last week. Expecting to get a negotiated coalition government, many residents were furious to get instead a junta composed only of the Democratic Front. Resentments were further aggravated when Cohen announced that Washington supported the Eritreans' right to self-determination. Mobs marched to the gates of the U.S. embassy, shouting anti-American slogans and hurling stones into the compound. Protesters dubbed the change of government "Cohen's coup."

Opposition to the Democratic Front is rooted in part in the eccentric politics of the group, which is an umbrella organization of resistance factions dominated by the Tigrean People's Liberation Front. Originally rigid Marxists, the Tigrean fighters have proclaimed themselves converts to pluralism and the free market, as have the Eritreans, who also once claimed





Rebels show off a captured tank near the presidential palace in Addis Ababa

allegiance to a quasi-socialism. But the policy statements of the Democratic Front, formed in 1988, still contain hints of old orthodoxy. Moreover, the moves the organization has made toward moderation are largely unknown to the citizens of Addis Ababa, who still tend to think of the Tigrean-led front as a group that out-Marxed Mengistu, whose own policies left the population impoverished.

Ethnic tension was a central element of the trouble in Addis Ababa. The central government, like the capital itself, has long been dominated by the Amhara people, who consider themselves the most sophisticated of the Ethiopians and therefore the country's rightful masters. The Tigreans speak a different language and stem from a region hundreds of miles north of the capital. They have been rivals of the Amharas for two millennia, going back to a time when the capital of ancient Ethiopia was Aksum, in the heart of Tigre country. When the Democratic Front arrived in Addis Ababa, hundreds of people flooded into the streets simply to stare in wonder at these strange Tigreans, these "bandits" and "barbarians" Mengistu had warned about for years.

The newcomers are saying many of the right things, promising, for instance, that there will be no indiscriminate reprisals against members of the former regime.

Meles said in London that only those who committed "war crimes and things like that" would be punished and that they would be tried in the open, with international human rights groups invited to observe. Some excesses are nonetheless inevitable. According to diplomats, Tigrean soldiers have already summarily executed a few of Mengistu's aides.

Still, the Tigreans, as well as the Eritreans, have a better record of respecting human rights and democratic principles than Mengistu did. In the areas the rebels have administered since before Mengistu's fall, democracy exists at the village level, based on people's councils that seem to be freely elected. Political debates are lively, and medical and educational systems are better than most of those offered by the central government.

In any case, the Tigreans say they do not intend to rule Addis Ababa indefinitely. Under terms worked out in London, a wide spectrum of Ethiopians are to meet again by July 1 to construct a more broadly based government that would lead the country until multiparty elections are held within the next 12 months.

The Eritrean leaders, however, have no interest in Ethiopia's governance but simply want to break away from the country. Established as an Italian colony in 1890, Eritrea expected nationhood after World War II but was instead federated with Ethiopia in 1952 at the recommendation of the United Nations. In 1962 the Eritrean



#### Eritrean People's Liberation Front

The oldest and best organized of the insurgent groups, it was established in 1970 as a breakaway faction of the Eritrean Liberation Front formed in 1958. It is a secular, multiethnic organization devoted to independence for Eritrea province. Originally Marxist-Leninist, the group in recent years has embraced the concepts of a regulated market economy and political pluralism. With some 60,000 fighters under arms, the group, which is led by secretary-general Issaias Afewerki, has received support from Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and Syria.

#### Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front

A four-group umbrella organization formed in 1988, it is dominated by the Tigre People's Liberation Front. That group, founded in 1975, originally campaigned for autonomy for Tigre province. Now the Tigreans say they favor a unified Ethiopia, though they support the demand of their military ally, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, for a referendum on independence for Eritrea. Led by chairman Meles Zenawi, 36, the Tigreans, once rigid Marxists, now spout an odd mix of communism and democracy. The umbrella Democratic Front commands about 80,000 guerrillas and has been supported by Sudan and Libya.

#### Oromo Liberation Front

Established in 1975, it seeks either autonomy or independence for the southern provinces. These are the heartland of the Oromos, sometimes known as Gallas, who feel they have been oppressed by the politically dominant Amharas. Though the Oromos are Ethiopia's largest ethnic group, with 40% of the population of 51 million, their power has been diluted by their dispersal throughout the country. With only 7,000 fighters, the group is a marginal military force. It is allied with and supported by the Eritrean rebels but is suspicious of the Tigrean guerrillas. Led by secretary-general Galasa Dabo, the front has received military assistance from Sudan.

## World

parliament voted for full unification amid reports of bribery and intimidation of its members by the government of Emperor Haile Selassie.

In the weeks before Mengistu fled, when the Americans were trying to persuade him that the country would not unravel if he stepped down, the Eritreans said they were willing to postpone their independence vote, perhaps for several years. But once victory was secured, they wasted no time asserting their secessionist agenda. In a press conference last week, Issaias Afewerki, leader of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, stated baldly, "Eritrea is not part of Ethiopia." He added that his group would administer the province until a vote on Eritrea's status is held, a plebiscite the front is convinced will endorse secession.

Many non-Eritreans oppose the province's independence for economic as well as nationalistic reasons. Without Eritrea, with its long Red Sea coast, Ethiopia would be landlocked. International food aid, essential in combating famine when the rains fail, enters the country primarily through the Eritrean ports of Massawa and Assab. The Eritreans have pledged that they will permit goods to flow freely through their territory, but many Ethiopians wonder whether they can trust such promises from a group that has fought Addis Ababa for three decades.

For now, the Democratic Front's position on Eritrea is much like Washington's: it endorses the right of the Eritreans to their referendum but wants a unified Ethiopia and so hopes that the vote, if held, goes against secession. As the day of reck-



Guns surrendered by defeated government forces pile up in the capital: the old regime imploded

oning approaches, tensions between the two groups may erupt. Already, there are strains between Meles and Issaias, who have been friends for 16 years. Issaias is upset that Meles succumbed to U.S. pressure to promise elections within a year. Meles is angry that Issaias reneged on his original pledge to participate in the transitional government to be established by July 1.

Then there is the problem of the Oromos, who form the largest group of all in Ethiopia. The Oromo Liberation Front was annoyed that while the Tigreans marched into the capital, they were left on the sidelines. Though the front, with only 7,000 fighters, is militarily insignificant, the Oromo constitute 40% of the country's 51 million people. The Oromo rebels are pressing their demands for a referendum on either autonomy or independence for

the southern provinces, their heartland. That call has done nothing to ease long-standing suspicions between the Oromo and Tigrean groups, who have clashed in the past.

Given the disparate agendas of all the factions, the prospects for putting together an enduring government within a month are slight. The chances that Ethiopia will then proceed to build a true democracy are slimmer still. The country has no history of democracy, and the forces that now espouse it are only recent converts. While the factions in authority today may prove more progressive and able than the antiquated regime they replaced, peace and democracy remain distant goals. The Kalamashnikov is sure to have its place in Ethiopia for some time to come.

—Reported by  
J.F.O. McAllister/Washington and Marguerite  
Michaels/London

## Coping with the Famine

**F**or the millions of Ethiopians for whom starvation is a constant foe, the stakes in the struggle for control of the country are especially high. So far, the tumult has brought them nothing but misery. Food deliveries to Ethiopia's 7 million drought victims have been disrupted, and in some cases stopped, by the fighting. Supply trucks were attacked and looted, and international relief workers fled. The fall of coastal Assab to Eritrean fighters two weeks ago temporarily closed the city's port on the Red Sea, one of the most important conduits of aid.

The rebel victory, however, may be a blessing for the nation's hungry. In the past, eating or not eating was as much an issue of politics as it was of provisions, since the combatants in the civil war tried to keep supplies from reaching enemy turf.

With no more battle lines to cross, help ought to flow more freely now.

The Democratic Front that rules Addis Ababa has assured aid workers that they will be protected. The front also is making efforts to assert control over outlying areas where the government's collapse left citizens without a reliable supply line, for instance in the city of Dire Dawa, in the east. For their part, the Eritrean fighters who have assumed administration of Eritrea province, which includes all the country's ports, promise to allow food to flow freely through their territory.

Aid donors like the U.S. want to focus future relief spending on measures that would make Ethiopians more self-sufficient, such as providing drought-resistant seeds and basic farming implements. If peace prevails in the country, these kinds of programs may succeed, lessening the perpetual threat of starvation.

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REFUGEES

# Transplanted in Time

**As more Ethiopian Jews flood into Israel, those who arrived earlier have learned to like suburbia. But all that noise!**

By JON D. HULL ASHDOD

**S**hoshana Nadou plummeted into the modern world in 1984, when she and 7,500 other Jews from remote villages in Ethiopia were secretly airlifted to Israel. "Everything looked so new and scary," she says. "One old woman smashed a television with a broom when she saw a picture of a fire." Now Nadou, 21, is firmly entrenched in the Israeli middle class. She and her husband Eyal, a construction worker, own a three-room apartment in the coastal city of Ashdod. Two of her brothers are in the Israeli army, and another recently graduated from college. "We've been transformed into Israelis," she says in fluent Hebrew. "Ethiopia seems very far away."

Last month, 14,000 more Falashas—the Ethiopian pejorative means strangers in Amharic—were airlifted to safety in another Israeli rescue operation. By plane, the trip from Addis Ababa to Tel Aviv takes just under four hours. But for these rural and deeply religious Jews, who believe they are descendants of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, the journey spans centuries. Descending from C-130 transports and commercial jets, they discover that their new home is not the least bit familiar. Says Rachamim Elazar, an Ethiopian activist who arrived in Israel in 1971: "It's the distance of 2,500 years."

Housed in hotels and shelters throughout the country, the bewildered immigrants are pondering flush toilets, pay phones and a pace of life that seems breathtaking. "We must learn everything," says Kashi Sheto, 28, who reacts to the sensory overload with a fixed smile. For now he seems content with the multicolored and ill-fitting outfit he plucked from a huge pile of donated clothing. "All we want is to be Israeli."

Judging by the experiences of their predecessors, most of the immigrants will manage the adjustment. Mandatory service in the army—Israel's ethnic blender—quickly induces a new sense of identity in the young, who account for two-thirds of the latest immigrants. But tanks and tear gas are easier to master than modern culture, especially for a people who revere silence and modesty. Says Addisu Messele,

chairman of the United Ethiopian Jewish Organization: "I love Israel, but Israelis are very aggressive and loud and impatient." Says Leora Samuel, who emigrated from Ethiopia in 1984 and now counsels newcomers: "Basically, we have to learn how to use our elbows."

Israel's warm embrace and a remarkable lack of discrimination between blacks and whites help ease the trauma. Until the mid-1980s rabbinic authorities questioned the Ethiopians' Jewishness. But the debate

Instead, small clusters of Ethiopians live in dozens of towns, easing the process of integration. Even so, the leap from subsistence farming to suburbia can be wrenching, especially for the elderly. "The old ones pay the price," says Gad Ben-Ari, spokesman for the quasi-official Jewish Agency. "We can support them but I doubt they'll become Israelis." Eager to conform, the young reject traditional customs and cuisine while the village religious leaders, known as *kessim*, become increasingly irrelevant. "It's very hard to preserve our culture," says Messele. "How will we teach the next generation to be silent and respectful?"

Since 1985 almost 50 Ethiopians have committed suicide, depressed by both family separations and culture shock. The Ethiopians' ingrained reluctance to complain

may also be to blame. Says Samuel: "They hold everything inside, sitting and brooding, until one day they explode." Israeli officials say slightly higher suicide rates are endemic among new immigrants worldwide and expect the problem to decline now that most families have been reunited. Says Louis Rapoport, author of two books on the Ethiopian Jews: "You can always find some bitter cases but I think most of them have integrated extremely well."

Israel's Ethiopian community now numbers 36,000, and veterans have been employed by the government to ease the transition for newcomers. The little things can make all the difference. Because making coffee is part of the daily Ethiopian ritual, the arrivals are allowed to boil their own brew in their hotel rooms, where some may live for up to a year while taking language classes. Other problems are more insidious. The sudden switch to a high-fat and high-sugar diet is likely to increase the incidence of

heart disease and cavities, which until now have been unusually rare among Ethiopians.

Yafa Bogalay, 28, is happy with the trade-off. Her first life ended in 1981, when she fled to Israel after Ethiopian government troops raided her village school in the Gondar province, hauling away suspected rebels. "I cried and cried when I first got here," she says. Now she works at a childcare center in Ashdod and refuses to teach her three children her native language. "I don't want to even think about Ethiopia," she says. "There was too much suffering." Her sole indulgence in the past is listening to Ethiopian music on her tape player, which offers the only safe passage back to the thatched hut of her childhood. ■

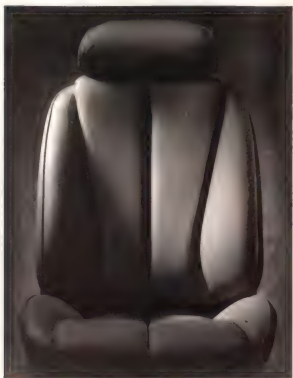


Reunited at last: an Ethiopian in Israeli uniform embraces his relative

has subsided, and their Jewish credentials are now widely accepted. At least 400 Ethiopians have attended universities and 25 are officers in the army. Says Sergeant Shalom Sebata, who immigrated in 1985: "No one questions my authority. We're all Jews." Although the massive influx of Soviet Jews has overwhelmed the nation's resources, unemployment among the Ethiopians is lower than the national average, largely because of their willingness to take menial jobs. "We don't have doctors or lawyers," says Elazar. "We just need time to adjust."

The lack of professional skills accounts for the Ethiopians' comparatively lower income levels, but careful government planning has prevented the creation of ghettos.

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## SOVIET UNION

# Kissing Hands, Shaking Babies

Russia's first presidential election is at hand, but the candidates haven't got the art of campaigning quite right

By JOHN KOHAN MOSCOW

**B**oris Yeltsin insisted that he was only going to the Arctic region of Murmansk on a "business trip" last week, but he certainly looked and acted like a man running for office. The Russian populist donned a white coat to inspect a high-tech laboratory, reviewed black-uniformed columns of sailors and promised the crew of the nuclear missile cruiser *Kirov* that he would do everything possible to improve their living conditions. Meanwhile, former Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov toured the Siberian city of Krasnoyarsk, lending a sympathetic ear to the problems of defense workers at a chemical factory. Back in Moscow Kremlin adviser Vadim Bakatin talked to cossack leaders about what he called his "common sense" politics.

Welcome to the Russian presidential campaign, which got off to a breathless and stumbling start last week—and with good reason. The Congress of People's Deputies approved the Yeltsin-sponsored plan to create a strong executive office only two



**RYZHKO**  
Dubbed the weeping Bolshevik, he is the conservatives' great wet hope

Russians will be able to choose their leader in a democratic ballot.

There are no flashy campaign posters, no sound trucks blaring out slogans. Nor is there likely to be much Western-style razzle-dazzle, given a severe paper shortage and the miserly sum of 200,000 rubles that authorities have granted each candidate. The closest thing to television ads was endorsements tucked away in evening news reports. The Russian news show, *Vesti*, for example, showed a Muslim cleric from the North Caucasus announcing that his people were "praying to the Almighty" for a Yeltsin victory.

The candidates, in fact, could have learned a lesson or two from the old pro, Mikhail Gorbachev. Even though he is not running for anything, the Soviet President managed to capture the limelight during a visit to Kazakhstan last week, where he donned a sporty cap to pose for cameras in a wheat field. Though Gorbachev has made fresh peace with Yeltsin, he has refused to

weeks ago, and the election, in which more than 100 million Russians are eligible to vote, will be held on June 12. That leaves little time for the six registered candidates to do anything but go through the motions of a campaign. In fact, the three "unknowns" in the race—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, Albert Makashov and Aman-geldy Tulayev—tried without success to get the vote postponed until the fall. But such problems in no way diminished the fact that for the first time in history,

endorse any candidate in the race.

Yeltsin would seem to be a shoo-in for the Russian presidency. Opinion polls consistently give him more than 50% of the vote. He also enjoys the advantages of the incumbent in his post as chairman of the Russian parliament. Campaign manager Gennadi Burbulis intends to exploit Yeltsin's position by depicting him constantly on the job, meeting with local leaders across Russia. Yeltsin's campaign slogan may not be very catchy, but the emphasis is on substance: "Russians, Unite in Realizing in Practice the Radical Reform of Russian Life."

While Yeltsin tries to look presidential, the verbal slanging has been left to his choice for vice president, Alexander Rutskoi, a gruff air force colonel who was captured during the war in Afghanistan and given his country's highest award for valor, Hero of the Soviet Union. A leader of the Communists for Democracy reform movement, Rutskoi told reporters last week that he simply could not understand "why Ryzhkov would even consider running for president after what he managed to do during five years as prime minister."

Ryzhkov, who was replaced as prime minister in January, thought he had pocketed the military vote when he chose General Boris Gromov as his running mate. An articulate hard-liner, Gromov served as the Soviet commander in Afghanistan before becoming Deputy Interior Minister in December. But even if Rutskoi does win votes from enlisted men and reform-minded Communists, Ryzhkov has earned the support of the military-industrial complex and the party bureaucracy through his attacks on ex-



**YELTSIN**  
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**BAKATIN**  
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conomic "shock therapy" and his defense of the country's "socialist choice." Because Ryzhkov and Gromov are counting so much on local party machines and military discipline to secure votes, they have been accused in the press of waging a campaign of "limousines with flashing lights and gleaming generals' stars."

The race has a dark horse: Bakatin, the former Interior Minister and now member of Gorbachev's Security Council. If Yeltsin has the support of radical reformers and Ryzhkov the backing of hard-line generals and party hacks, Bakatin insists that he is an "independent" candidate. Speculation that he is really the Kremlin's man has been so intense, however, that Bakatin felt compelled to note last week that "I've said no to Gorbachev many times." Bakatin shrewdly chose as his running mate Ramazan Abdulatipov, an ethnic Muslim who is chairman of the Russian parliament's



**TULEYEV**  
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Council of Nationalities. Opposition to Yeltsin's sovereignty campaign has been particularly fierce in Russia's ethnic enclaves. Bakatin's reputation as a reformer is also sufficiently solid that he might draw enough moderate votes from Yeltsin to force a runoff election, which will take place if no candidate receives 50% of the vote.

The election has already sparked spirited exchanges on the streets. In Moscow last week, a young man got into a verbal brawl after he asserted that Yeltsin had been "dishonest" because he had backed down in public on private deals he had made with Gorbachev.

"All the communists care about is slurping down black caviar and Napoleon brandy," said a slightly inebriated listener. "That goes for Ryzhkov—and Bakatin too."

"Listen," a bespectacled intellectual interrupted. "These elections will not only decide the fate of Russia but the entire country. Yeltsin needs our support."

If passion is any indication, Yeltsin



**ZHIRINOVSKY**  
Thought to be a stalking horse for the Communist Party, he offers praise for Stalin plus cheaper vodka

should prevail. A recent item in the *Personal* column of a Moscow newspaper suggested the depth of feeling for him among average Russians. A "charming" woman wanted to meet a "man under 35 for the purpose of setting up a family." She set only one other condition: "Persons who do not share the political views of Yeltsin need not apply."

## America Abroad

Strobe Talbott

### Grows in The Garden

What I remember best about meeting Zviad Gamsakhurdia a year ago is the dogs. As the Georgian nationalist's wife served tea to several visitors, she apologized for the growls coming from the walled grounds of the villa. "They're here to protect us," she said, "but sometimes I wonder."

There was an awkward delay in our departure. It took nearly 20 minutes for four burly bodyguards, using the butts of their automatic rifles, to force the huge Dobermans to a corner of the garden so that we could safely reach our car.

I recalled the scene last week, when Gamsakhurdia became the first popularly elected president of a Soviet republic. Georgia has much to fear from diehard imperialists in Moscow, but there is another, internal menace—a growling presence in the garden. The republic is cursed by its own demography. In that sense, it is a microcosm of the U.S.S.R. More than 80 nationalities share a territory half the size of Arkansas. The new, breakaway leadership tends to behave toward its minorities the way the Kremlin—starting with the Bolsheviks' first commissar of nationalities, the Georgian Joseph Vissarionovich Dzhughashvili, alias Stalin—has treated the more than 100 peoples within the U.S.S.R. No wonder many of Georgia's Abkhazians, Adzhars, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Ossetians and Russians do not regard Gamsakhurdia as their president.

He has given them little reassurance. At best, he is a romantic patriot in the 19th century tradition. "We'll achieve freedom by fighting," he said when I visited him last year.

"I expect death for myself and civil war for my country."

At worst, he may turn out to be a dictator. He denounced as "traitors" his own countrymen who dared to disagree with him on virtually any subject. "We cannot tolerate collaborationists." The more he talked, the more inclusive that category became. Those non-Georgians who questioned how they would fare if ruled from Tbilisi rather than Moscow were "nothing but tools of the [Soviet] state and will be dealt with as such."

The U.S. accepts the borders of the U.S.S.R. that existed when the Roosevelt Administration recognized the Soviet government in 1933, 12 years after the de facto annexation of Georgia. The forcible incorporation of the Baltic republics came seven years later. Therefore the Bush Administration supports the Balts' claim to independence but considers the Georgian issue a domestic affair of the U.S.S.R.

It's the right policy for the wrong reason.

The Baltic leaders have made progress in reassuring their own minorities, especially ethnic Russians, that they are entitled to full rights of citizenship. A revealing moment came during the central authorities' brutal but abortive crackdown in January. Not only did Kremlin agents fail to goad the Balts into armed resistance, which would have provided a pretext for more bloodshed, but local ethnic Russians also refused to form a pro-Moscow fifth column. Instead many sided with the secessionists.

In the months ahead, the Kremlin is more likely to succeed with provocations and splitting tactics in Georgia. Gamsakhurdia has wasted no time in curbing the press and making it a criminal offense to insult him or his office. If he continues to personally the violent, authoritarian and repressive streak in Georgian nationalism, he may get the civil war he predicted—inside Georgia itself.

Promoting the Wilsonian ideal of self-determination should be a goal of U.S. foreign policy, but not when one nationality uses the fulfillment of its own aspirations as an excuse for the suppression of others.

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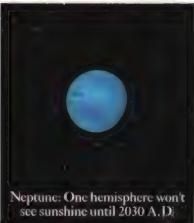
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Pluto: Frozen solid.



Venus: The clouds drip  
pure sulphuric acid.



Neptune: One hemisphere won't  
see sunshine until 2030 A.D.



Mars: The atmosphere  
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## DIPLOMACY

# Getting China Wrong

**In keeping with tradition, the White House and Congress both overestimate their influence on Beijing**

By **BRUCE W. NELAN**

While Soviet specialists tend to abhor the U.S.S.R., China scholars usually love China. George Bush's assignment as head of the U.S. mission in Beijing during the 1970s was diplomatic rather than scholarly, but it had the same seductive effect on him. Even now he seems in awe of the Chinese society that he lived in for 14 months. When formulating U.S. policy toward Beijing, he relies entirely on the China expert he respects the most: himself.

Despite the rumble of growing congressional protest, Bush went ahead and renewed China's most-favored-nation trading status again this year. As he pointed out last week, MFN is not really a favor but the "ordinary basis of trade," a set of low tariffs that the U.S. grants to more than 100 countries. Bush veered into hyperbole, however, when he claimed that China is such an important power that it can affect not only the stability of its region but the "entire world's peace and prosperity." And, he went on, his extension of MFN was a "policy that has the best chance of changing Chinese behavior."

Critics in Congress are pushing the other way, trying to reverse Bush's policy in order to punish Beijing for its brutal treatment of pro-democracy students and its continued repression in Tibet. Senate majority leader George Mitchell introduced a bill that would end MFN in six months unless Beijing shows more respect for human rights, stops using prison labor to produce export goods and curbs its overseas sales of ballistic missiles and nuclear technology.

Both the President and Congress are taking up residence in false premises. Bush should not expect the totalitarians who run China to change their behavior at home and abroad simply to keep U.S. tariff rates low. Says Zhu Qizhen, the Chinese ambassador in Washington: "We are not going to beg the U.S. to extend MFN." Congress would be equally naive to think cutting off MFN will force China to reverse its economic and security policies. Such a public loss of face would be intolerable to Beijing.

Like generations of Americans before them, Washington's leaders are getting it wrong about China. In the beginning, the chimera of a vast market of hundreds of millions of consumers sent Yankee traders sailing to the China coast in the 18th century, though then as now, the Chinese masses had no money to spend on imported goods. As late as 1900, the U.S. sold only \$15 million worth of goods a year to China;

today the U.S. buys far more (\$15.2 billion in 1990) than it sells (\$4.8 billion).

Beginning in the 1830s, Christian missionaries thought they saw an opportunity to carry Western religion to millions of Chinese. American church members supported the missionary effort with their contributions, but the results fell well short of their hopes. Clergymen in China were the targets of repeated antiforeign campaigns,

of China suddenly flipped back to the stereotype of Fu Manchu and the Yellow Peril. Washington's constant assumption that Chinese aggression threatened all of Southeast Asia led in time to America's war in Vietnam.

Unremitting enmity continued until President Richard Nixon's triumphant visit to Beijing in 1972 set up another false impression—that China under Mao and Deng Xiaoping was a nation on the road to capitalism and possibly even democracy. It is, of course, no such thing. China remains a police state controlled by a Communist Party dictatorship and dedicated to socialist central planning with a few market mechanisms.

Bush is only the latest President to make two wrong assumptions about China:



George and Barbara Bush in Beijing, 1975: He still seems in awe of the nation he once lived in

and during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, hundreds of missionaries and thousands of converts were killed.

Nationalist President Chiang Kai-shek, a convert to the Methodist Church, and his Wellesley College-educated wife naturally became the symbols of China in American eyes during World War II, along with the sturdy peasants depicted in the novels of Pearl Buck. The U.S. armed and supported Chiang as an important ally in the struggle against Japan. Washington was wrong again: Chiang spent more energy attacking Mao Zedong's communists than trying to repel the Japanese invaders.

The communists took power in Beijing in 1949, and then, contrary to General Douglas MacArthur's confident predictions, the Chinese People's Liberation Army entered the Korean War against U.N. forces in 1950. The American image

first, that the U.S. has enough "leverage" to be a major influence on Chinese domestic developments, and second, that China either is or soon will be a great world power. "It's not just a failed policy of [the past] two years," says Senator Richard Lugar, a former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "The fact is that we just haven't been able to influence China at all during most periods of history."

"We do put China in a special category," says Harry Harding, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington. "The need is for a realistic relationship, but both sides want romance." This romanticism is rooted "in our history, in the missionary presence, the traders," says Doak Barnett, professor emeritus of Chinese studies at Johns Hopkins University. "At times we are too enthusiastic. Other times we feel disillusioned, totally negative."

## World

Most of the time, Washington overestimates China's importance. Even though the "China card" is no longer needed to help the West balance the Soviet Union, Bush credits Beijing with major international influence. In the months after the Tiananmen massacre in 1989, he twice sent high-level delegations to stroke the Chinese.

Like Nixon, Bush calls China a force for "stability" in Asia. In fact, China is visibly unstable. The country has experienced "primarily chaos and confusion" in this century, says Richard Holbrooke, former Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs. Hundreds of thousands of young Chinese rose up against their government in 1989. In spite of the continuing efforts of the security police to root out "spiritual pollution," which is what they call Western ideas and values, the youth will probably rebel again.

China is not a great power either economically or militarily. It has 3 million men under arms, but its equipment is obsolete. With an annual defense budget of just over \$6 billion, the military modernization will be a long time coming. China's permanent seat in the U.N. Security Council gives it little more than disruptive potential. "Geostrategically," says Winston Lord, a former U.S. ambassador to Beijing, "China needs us more than we need them."

Says Burton Levin, long one of the State Department's leading China watchers, now head of the Asia Society's office in Hong Kong: "Be realistic. Forget about geopolitics and that strategic nonsense that we've heard for years. What is important is the movement toward a more open society in China."

Meanwhile, Beijing is selling missiles and nuclear technology in the Middle East, warning its neighbors not to challenge its claims to the disputed Spratly Islands, and supporting the murderous Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. But China's highest official priority, regularly reiterated, is modernization of the country.

Bringing that economy and society into the modern world will require huge investments over a long time. China will need tranquility and quiet borders, not troublemaking, to get the job done. In the process, "China pursues its national interest," says Lord. "It is not going to do us any favors."

The U.S. can do itself a favor by finally placing China in correct perspective. It would be wise to see China for what it is: a big, backward country with which the U.S. should maintain correct but not necessarily cordial ties. It will evolve, probably slowly, and one day it may have more in common with the U.S. than it has now. That will be the time to give it some of the special attention that generations of Americans have lavished on it by mistake.

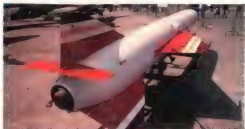
—Reported by Jaime A. FlorCruz/Beijing and Christopher Ogden/Washington



FRANCE: the Mirage F-1



U.S.S.R.: the top-of-the-line MIG-31 Foxhound fighter



CHINA: the Silkworm surface-to-surface missile



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## MIDDLE EAST

# The Ban That Isn't

Bush's arms plan omits a few items (planes, tanks . . .)

If a Middle East peace conference is a nonstarter, how about arms-control talks? Stymied in his efforts to bring Arabs and Israelis to the negotiating table, President Bush launched a new initiative last week. In two brief paragraphs of a commencement speech at the U.S. Air Force Academy, he called for a Middle Eastern regional ban on chemical and biological weapons and a freeze on the acquisition of ballistic missiles and nuclear arms.

Conventional weapons such as the planes, tanks and artillery that continue to flood the area should be constrained if they are "destabilizing," Bush said, but the U.S. still backs "the legitimate need of every state to defend itself." The President would like representatives of the big five arms sellers—the U.S., Soviet Union, Britain, France and China—to meet in Paris in a few weeks to exchange views, but no date or agenda has been set.

Bush's aides were not certain how the proposal might be carried out. It is the start of a "cooperative consultative process," said one. But the process already appears something less than cooperative. Israel,

the only state in the region with nuclear weapons, feels singled out. The Israelis want to begin with curbs on conventional arms, where the Arab states have the edge.

The Soviet Union and China have not even agreed to attend the Paris meeting, Beijing has repeatedly refused to take part in existing international controls on the transfer of missile technology and insists its own sales are always responsible. Meanwhile, French President François Mitterrand and British Prime Minister John Major were planning to announce their own proposals.

Nor was the U.S. a model of restraint last week. The day after Bush spoke, Defense Secretary Dick Cheney told the Israeli government that Washington would pick up most of the development cost for Israel's new antimissile missile, the Arrow. The U.S. is giving the Jewish state 10 used F-15 fighters and, said Cheney, will make sure the Israelis "maintain their qualitative edge." Cheney also said Israel has promised to store U.S. military equipment for American use in future emergencies, an arrangement Washington is negotiating with some of the gulf states as well.



# Aging increases the risks of certain diseases. Vitamins C, E and Beta Carotene may help reduce them.

By the time you reach your 30th Anniversary, you could be worrying about aging—and the chronic diseases that can go along with it.

Of course, a balanced diet has always been a key to good health.

But now, scientific studies are focusing not only on diet, but on the potential health benefits of specific nutrients.

One area of promising research is the role that some nutrients may play in decreasing the risks of diseases which tend to develop with aging.

For example, in recent years, scientific institutions such as the USDA Research Center on Aging and the National Cancer Institute have been conducting research on Vitamins C, E and Beta Carotene—among other nutrients.

And the evidence so far indicates that assuring adequate Vitamins C, E

and Beta Carotene in your diet may help reduce the risks of developing diseases such as cataracts, cancer and heart disease.

To make sure your diet has adequate Vitamin C and Beta Carotene, eat a variety of fruits and vegetables every day and add some seeds, seed oils, nuts and wheat germ for Vitamin E.

In addition to a good diet, continuing good health obviously depends on many other factors, some of which you can control, like not smoking, exercising, keeping your weight down and getting regular medical check-ups.

It's worth a little effort to reach your Golden Anniversary in good health.



A health message from Hoffmann-La Roche Inc.

## MILITARY PACTS

## NATO Goes on a Diet

Faced with a diminished Soviet threat, the alliance tries to slim down, improve its reflexes—and reduce U.S. dominance

By GEORGE J. CHURCH

What does St. George do if the dragon runs away? Something like that question confronts the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Since its founding 42 years ago, NATO has built a mighty military machine to deter a massive Soviet-led invasion of Western Europe. But the dragon that breathed genuine fire for so many years is slinking back into its cave. As many as a million troops that were once available—at least on paper—to mount a communist blitzkrieg are melting away. The dissolution of the Warsaw Pact two months ago removed some 500,000 soldiers of

So NATO defense ministers, meeting last week in Brussels, approved a drastic overhaul of the alliance's military structure. They will deploy only about half as many troops as the 1.5 million now stationed in Central Europe; the U.S. specifically will be able to bring home at least half, and possibly as many as two-thirds, of the 320,000 people it keeps on guard on the Continent. Essentially, NATO is giving up its old "forward defense" strategy of massing forces in Germany and is reorganizing its central region into three main groups:

► A Rapid Reaction Corps capable of moving anywhere within NATO's borders within

and Spanish units and some European reservists. The idea is that even if the Soviet Union should turn aggressive again, preparations for an assault—which might have to begin with a reconquest of Eastern Europe—would take months. NATO should have ample time to call up reserves and bring in forces from the U.S.

Although an American general will continue to be NATO's supreme commander, the overall effect of the redesign will be to diminish U.S. domination of the alliance. While American forces assigned to NATO will be reduced 50% or more, according to British estimates the overall cut in NATO's total force of 2.8 million would be only about 22%. Thus a larger percentage of the remaining forces would be European. That should please congressional critics who have long complained that the allies ought to shoulder more of the burden of defending themselves.

There is, however, one huge hole in NATO's new plans: what if the next menace arises outside NATO's borders—in the form, say, of a new Middle East war that would threaten the member nations' oil supplies but not their territory? The structure of the Rapid Reaction Corps implies that it could be sent to trouble spots anywhere. But under the NATO treaty the corps could not be deployed "out of area." Had it existed during the Gulf war, it could have been rushed to member Turkey's border with Iraq, but no farther.

France, which is a NATO member but pulled out of the alliance's military structure in 1966, made moves to fill this gap in such a manner as to revive old suspicions that it was out to diminish the U.S. role in Europe. Paris would have preferred a strictly European rapid-reaction force that would not be part of NATO and could be sent anywhere in the world. Washington opposed the idea as a potential first stage in the creation of a European force in which it would have no role. French officials immediately began soft-pedaling their idea.

The issue, however, is not going to go away until NATO leaders decide on some legal mechanism that would permit out-of-area deployment of its forces. That might happen at a NATO summit next fall in Rome. The alliance will not complete its adjustment to a new era until it prepares to engage not only the Soviet dragon but also the pit bulls snarling around NATO's flanks.

—Reported by Frank Melville/  
London, Jay Peterzell/Washington and Frederick  
Ungerheuer/Paris

## NATO'S LEANER FIGHTING MACHINE



Moscow's former allies in Eastern Europe from even theoretical Kremlin control. Another 500,000 Soviet troops are being pulled back within the borders of the U.S.S.R.

In another reminder of how the great confrontation has mellowed, Washington and Moscow announced last weekend that they had finally settled their differences over an agreement to slash conventional forces in Europe. That resolution cleared the way for progress toward a treaty limiting nuclear arms and thereby made a long-discussed Bush-Gorbachev summit in June more likely.

Yet the principle of an integrated multinational military force, and especially of one that binds the U.S. inextricably to the defense of close allies, is far too valuable to be allowed to erode. Moreover, if the heart of Europe seems secure for the moment, there are still potential threats out on the flanks—from a Yugoslav civil war next door to NATO member Italy, for example,

seven days. (It would not include an already existing mobile unit of 5,000 troops that can hustle to a trouble spot within 72 hours.) The corps would comprise up to 70,000 soldiers in four divisions, two British, two mixed European. The U.S. might contribute some additional troops; in any case, it would supply most of the planes, helicopters and airlift capacity. The Rapid Reaction Corps will be commanded by a British general and have headquarters in the U.K.

► A Main Defense Force of seven heavily armored corps totaling 400,000 to 500,000 troops. Six of the corps would be multinational and would be based in Western and Central Europe. The seventh corps would be stationed in what used to be East Germany and be composed exclusively of German soldiers.

► An auxiliary force of unspecified size that could reinforce the main force during a prolonged crisis. It might be exclusively American, made up of troops stationed outside Europe, or it might include some Canadian

A high-contrast, black and white photograph of a golfer in mid-swing. The golfer is wearing a dark shirt and light-colored pants. The background is bright, creating a silhouette effect for the golfer. The club is extended to the right, with a cloud of grass or dirt kicked up at the head of the club.

## THERE'S A NEW LEADER IN THE CLUBHOUSE.

Golfers all over America  
are discovering a new course  
of action—the breakthrough  
taste of Sharp's from Miller.

The breakthrough lies in  
Miller's patented brewing  
discovery, Ever-Cool, which  
produces the smooth, refresh-  
ing taste of real beer in a non-  
alcoholic brew.

So have a Sharp's. It's the  
perfect brew at tee time.



### KEEP YOUR EDGE.™

THIS MALT BEVERAGE CONTAINS  
LESS THAN 1/2% IF BY ALCOHOL BY VOLUME  
© 1994 Miller Brewing Company, Milwaukee, WI

# Isn't it time you got comfortable with advanced technology?



## Introducing the new Ford Crown Victoria. Roomier. Better handling. More fuel efficient.

Its even roomier, quieter interior welcomes and surrounds you with driver friendly controls and easy-to-read gauges. Its trunk is the largest in its class. But, below all the comfort and convenience is the diamond-hard technology that separates the new 1992 Ford Crown Victoria from the rest.

### **Other cars don't measure up.**

The Crown Victoria is the only car in its class that offers an Anti-lock Braking System (ABS) with Traction Assist. While Buckle up—together we can save lives.

ABS keeps your wheels from locking up during hard braking, Traction Assist uses ABS technology to keep rear wheels from spinning on slippery surfaces.

Speed sensitive steering, another unique feature, improves road feel at highway speeds. Crown Victoria also gives you the added safety of a driver's air bag supplemental restraint system, standard.

### **More powerful. More fuel efficient.**

A new V-8 engine brings a new level of



power to the Crown Victoria. Add to it the technology of Overhead Cam design and Sequential Electronic Fuel Injection, and you've got the most advanced engine in its class; more power that's also more fuel efficient. (18 EPA est. city MPG, 25 EPA est. hwy. MPG.) An excellent mix for the 90's.

**Better road manners.**

Start up the powerplant and start moving. You'll find its newly designed suspension provides more precise handling and a more confident ride. A definite step up for the full size car.

**Ford. The best-built American cars... ten years running.**

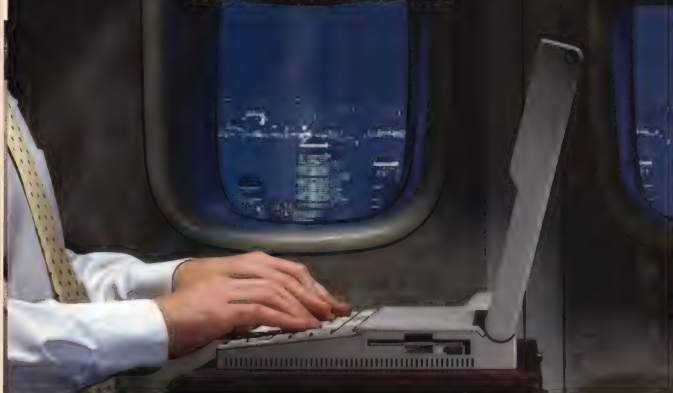
This is based on an average of consumer-reported problems in a series of surveys of all Ford and competitive '81-'90 models designed and built in North America. At Ford, "Quality is Job 1."

## New Crown Victoria

Have you driven a Ford...lately?



# The first PS/2 for people with window offices.



## INTRODUCING A PS/2® LAPTOP THAT PERFORMS LIKE A DESKTOP PS/2.

For millions of people, there's a whole world of business where the window offices have wings and your lap is your desk. It's as far from working in an office as you can get, but it's every bit as demanding. That's why IBM has created its most personal computer ever—the Personal System/2® Laptop 40 SX.

Although it's just 7.7 pounds, the PS/2 Laptop still lets you carry a lot of weight. It has the same Intel 386SX™ processor you'll find in best-selling desktop computers, so it's powerful enough to let you create or plan right on site. It also has a 3.5" diskette drive like the one in your office, and the 60MB hard drive can store all the information you'll need to close the deal or make the presentation.

Instead of compromising comfort,

the PS/2 Laptop has a full-size keyboard spaced and arranged the same way as a desktop PS/2's. And the large, easy-to-read, 10"-diagonal screen delivers VGA-quality graphics with amazing clarity and contrast, so it's easy on your eyes.

It even comes with a numeric keypad you can plug in for serious number crunching and a special feature suspends power when the screen is closed and returns to full power when you open it, letting you resume work right where you left off. With a Data/Fax Modem you can plug into a phone line and communicate with other computers, access up-to-the-minute facts and figures—you can even write memos or place orders instantly and fax them to the home office.

And the PS/2 Laptop comes with something no laptop should be without—an international warranty\* backed by thousands of Authorized Remarketers worldwide, so you're never far away from service and support.

To find out more, contact your IBM Authorized Remarketer or IBM marketing representative. You'll see why with the new PS/2 Laptop, you can take your business wherever business takes you.

How're you  
going to do it?  
PS/2 it!

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## World Notes



North Korea's Kim Il Sung points the way

### NORTH KOREA

## Coming In from The Cold

When the going gets tough, the tough... well, go along. After denouncing the United Nations for decades, North Korea's xenophobic Communist government announced last week that it would apply for full membership in the organiza-

tion—right behind South Korea. "As the South Korean authorities insist on their unilateral U.N. membership," the North Korean Foreign Ministry declared indignantly, "if we leave this alone, important issues related to the interest of the entire Korean nation will be dealt with in a biased manner on the U.N. rostrum."

Pyongyang's decision to join the U.N. is a glaring admission that its isolationist policy has been checkmated by Seoul's smooth cultivation of North Korea's main patrons, Moscow and Beijing. Anxious to extend burgeoning economic ties with capitalist—and prosperous—South Korea, neither the Soviet Union nor China is eager to oppose South Korea's application for U.N. membership, leaving North Korea little choice but to seek a seat as well.

### IRAN

## Love for Sale

Iran's retreat from the anti-American orthodoxy of the late Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini accelerated last week. At the opening session of an international oil conference in Isfahan, President Hashemi Rafsanjani called for increased economic and political cooperation with the West and better relations with Iran's gulf neighbors. The overture was fueled largely by the need on the part of Tehran for foreign help to rebuild after its debilitating eight-year war with Iraq, which ended in 1988, as well as for long-term, reliable customers for its oil. Last year Iran launched a five-year campaign to attract \$27 billion in foreign investment. So far, France, Italy, Germany and Austria, among others, have extended Iran more than \$12 billion in credits. The U.S., however, continues to hold \$11 billion in frozen Iranian assets and to impose a partial ban on the pur-

chase of Iranian crude oil for sale in the U.S.

The State Department once again insisted that to end its commercial and diplomatic isolation from the West, Iran must exert its influence to gain the release of the six American hostages thought to be held by pro-Iranian Shiite Muslims in Lebanon. Iran's Deputy Foreign Minister Abbas Maleki took an equally hard-nosed stance: although indicating that the ordeal of the hostages might end "soon," he repeated his country's long-standing demand that its funds in the U.S. be unfrozen.



Rafsanjani: eager for aid

### INDIA

## In Search of Stability

With no family scion available to take up the mantle of Rajiv Gandhi, India's Congress Party last week did what any other faction-riven political bureaucracy would have done: fudge. After a two-hour meeting, party leaders appointed P.V. Narasimha Rao, 69, as president. Although Rao boasts an impressive résumé—he is a poet, linguist and former Foreign Minister—he was selected because, according to colleagues, he is respected by everyone but feared by no one.

The compromise choice postpones what is expected to be a fierce fight among younger politicians for the prize of Prime Minister. That job will be filled by the party's members of parliament after national elections, which were interrupted by Gandhi's murder, are completed next week. If Congress does not win at the polls, party strategists hope to team up with smaller factions on the left to deny power to the rising and divisive Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party.

Rao



A well-guarded ambulance takes drug baron Chavez from prison

### MEXICO

## Life in the Posh Lane

For most inmates, prison is a spartan experience. But not for Mexican drug baron Oliverio Chavez Araujo, 33, who has been linked to Colombia's Medellín drug cartel and has been incarcerated since 1986 at the state prison in Matamoros. After members of a rival drug gang shot Chavez in the jaw and nearly blinded him three weeks ago, his bodyguards staged a violent takeover of the prison; 18 people died. Once in control of the complex, Chavez continued to make drug deals from his cell, which was outfitted with cellular phones and a fax machine. Though state police ringed the prison, he managed to bring in doctors and undergo surgery for his wounds.

After five hours of negotiations with assistant attorney general Federico Ponce Rojas, Chavez surrendered last week and was flown to Mexico City aboard a government jet. Earlier, in a letter addressed to the *New York Times*, Chavez said he had been the target of a paid assassin, and would provide evidence implicating agents of the Mexican Federal Judicial Police, who oversee antidrug efforts. Law-enforcement officials in Mexico and the U.S. have long complained about corruption among members of the federal police, who have been accused of murder, rape and other abuses, including the 1985 torture and killing of Enrique Camarena, an American drug-enforcement agent. After Chavez's surrender, authorities arrested several top prison and police officials.

## CREATIVITY

# Whose Bright Idea?

**Companies are cracking down on pirates who steal designs, movies and computer programs. The battle is getting hotter—and more important.**

By THOMAS MCCARROLL

**W**hen Johnson & Johnson introduced a new fiber-glass casting tape for broken bones several years ago, executives at Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing flew into a rage. The tape, which sets fractures faster than plaster, was remarkably similar in design and function to a casting tape developed by 3M scientists. The St. Paul-based company quickly sued, charging J&J with violating four of its patents. Last month a federal court backed 3M and ordered J&J to pay \$116 million in damages and interest—the fourth largest patent-infringement judgment in history.

Although the verdict is subject to appeal, the award underscores the growing

importance of protecting intellectual property. That phrase may seem entirely too grand to apply to a song like *If You Don't Want My Peaches, You'd Better Stop Shaking My Tree*, but it actually encompasses the whole vast range of creative ideas that turn out to have value—and many of them have more value than ever. From Walt Disney's Mickey Mouse to Upjohn's formula for its antihair loss potion, patents, trademarks and copyrights have become corporate treasures that their owners will do almost anything to protect.

In an economy increasingly based on information and technology, ideas and creativity often embody most of a company's wealth. That is why innovations are being patented, trademarked and copyrighted in record numbers. It is also why today's clever

er thief doesn't rob banks, many of which are broke anyway; he makes unauthorized copies of Kevin Costner's latest film, sells bogus Cartier watches and steals the formula for Merck's newest pharmaceutical. That's where the money is.

The battle is widening—U.S. companies filed more than 5,700 intellectual-property lawsuits last year in contrast to 3,800 in 1980—and the stakes can be enormous. In the biggest patent-infringement case to date, Eastman Kodak was ordered last October to pay \$900 million for infringing on seven Polaroid instant-photography patents. In a \$100 million trademark suit, Mirage Studios, creator of the hugely popular Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles characters, is demanding that AT&T refrain from using such terms as turtle power and cowabunga in a 900-number telephone service for kids. In a far-reaching copyright case, book publishers scored an important victory in March when a federal court in New York City fined the Kinko's Graphics national chain of copying stores \$510,000 for illegally photocopying and selling excerpts of books to college students.

Yet thieves still reap a rich harvest. Inadequate protection of U.S. patents, trademarks and copyrights costs the U.S. economy \$80 billion in sales lost to pirates and 250,000 jobs every year, according to Gary Hoffman, an intellectual-property attorney at Dickstein, Shapiro & Morin in Washington. The computer industry loses upwards of \$4 billion of revenues a year to illegal copying of software programs. Piracy of movies, books and recordings costs the entertainment business at least \$4 billion annually.

With intellectual property now accounting for more than 25% of U.S. exports (compared with just 12% eight years ago), protection against international piracy ranks high on the Bush Administration's trade agenda. The U.S. International Trade Commission, the federal agency that deals with unfair-trade complaints by American companies, is handling a record number of cases (38 last year). Says ITC Chairman Anne Brunsdale: "Conceptual property has replaced produce and heavy machinery as the hotbed of global trade disputes."

One reason is that many countries offer only feeble protection to intellectual prop-

## THE ORIGINALS

### ■ Cartier Watch

Made by France's Cartier International, the high-fashion timepiece is perhaps the most imitated jewelry in the world. Average price: \$4,300.

### ■ Hollywood Movie

Few American goods can match the worldwide popularity of U.S.-made films. Tinseltown last year sold \$3 billion worth of movie videocassettes, such as *Dances with Wolves*.

### ■ Hayes Microcomputer Modem

The most widely used device for communicating between personal computers, the Hayes modem is the industry standard. Hayes' sales last year totaled about \$65 million.

### ■ Personal-Computer Software

From word processing to electronic accounting ledgers to game programs, software makes computers go. With sales of \$40 billion last year, the software industry is a national asset.



erty. Realizing that such laxness will exclude them from much world trade as well as hobble native industries, nations everywhere are revising laws covering patents, copyrights and trade names. Malaysia, Egypt, China, Turkey, Brazil and even the Soviet Union have all recently announced plans either to enact new laws or beef up existing safeguards. In an effort to win U.S. congressional support for a proposed free-trade pact, Mexico last month revealed plans to double the life of trademark licenses to 10 years and extend patent protection for the first time to such products as pharmaceuticals and food.

Countries that don't get with the program are asking for trouble. The Bush Administration in April placed India and Thailand on the Commerce Department watch list for possible retaliation because of those countries' casual treatment of property rights. In Thailand, cited as the most flagrant violator, copycat versions of Lotus 1-2-3 spreadsheet software sell for the equivalent of \$50 instead of the \$500 U.S. price. New movies like David Lynch's *Wild at Heart*, not yet available on video in the U.S., go for \$4 a tape.

The U.S. may offer the world's strongest protection of intellectual property, reinforced by more than a dozen laws passed since 1980. The most significant by far was the 1982 overhaul of the patent and trademark courts. Previously divided into 12 separate districts, each with its own interpretation of the law, they made defending inventions and creative works almost impossible. Infringers could go "forum shopping" for the most favorable court district and operate with near impunity. The reorganization ended the legal hodgepodge by creating a single Court of Appeals that has tended to favor patent holders, who now win 80% of all infringement cases, vs. 25% before the reforms. Says Roger Smith, chief intellectual-property attorney at IBM: "There is more confidence in the courts and greater confidence in patents than ever before."

The courts have increased the use of juries, which tend to side with plaintiffs and award big monetary damages. Last year a Detroit jury awarded inventor Robert Kearns a \$10 million judgment against Ford for violating Kearns' patents on intermittent windshield wipers. A San Francisco jury two months ago ordered Intex Plastics to pay inventor Charles Hall \$5 million in damages for violating his patent on the water bed.

Copyright laws also carry more weight. The U.S. in 1988 became party to the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, which allows a U.S. copyright holder to enter the court system of other nations subject to the convention to seek restitution for infringement. The treaty strengthened copyright protections, although the U.S. did not sign on to controversial provisions concerning "moral rights," which allow artists and au-

thors to maintain control over revision of their works.

As intellectual property becomes more valuable and secure, people naturally create more of it. Evidence: filings for patents, trademarks and copyrights are hitting record highs. Last year some 174,700 patents were filed in the U.S., a 39% jump over 1985. The number of copyrights registered soared to 643,000 last year, in contrast to 401,000 in a five-year period ending in 1975. Overseas filings are also up. In Japan the number of patent applications nearly doubled between 1980 and 1988 as that government signaled its intention to enforce property laws more strictly. After a 29-year delay, Texas Instruments recently received a basic patent on integrated circuits in Japan that could bring the U.S. company an extra \$500 million in annual revenues from Japanese chipmakers.

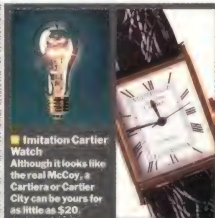
**P**rotecting intellectual property has become a growth industry in itself. New York City's Weil, Gotshal & Manges two years ago became the first major law firm to establish a separate group specializing in patents, trademarks and copyrights. It has some 35 intellectual-property attorneys on staff. Fish & Neave, also in New York City, runs the biggest intellectual-property practice, with some 110 attorneys specializing in the field. General Electric, America's biggest

exporter and No. 1 patent holder, has added some 25 patent attorneys to its staff since 1985, for a total of 125. It still ranks second to IBM, which employs 140.

Inventors and companies too small to hire big-time attorneys can find advice in a growing number of how-to books and videos. Accounting firms hold seminars and give private counseling. Insurance companies, such as HLP in Louisville, are even beginning to carry policies to protect intellectual property from infringers and legal challenges by insuring a patent for up to \$1 million.

With the cost of litigation soaring—defending a patent in court can cost \$250,000 to \$2 million—entrepreneurs are financing lawsuits for inventors in exchange for a piece of future royalties. A New York City company, Refac Technology, has sued more than 2,000 companies, including IBM, Kodak, Sears, Exxon and Sony, on behalf of small inventors. Refac raised more than \$3 million from investors to finance a series of suits by Gordon Gould, inventor of the laser, against the likes of AT&T and Xerox. The companies settled. Refac's revenues last year, mainly from royalties fees, exceeded \$10 million. The courts last year limited such investor-funded suits by restricting third parties from buying an interest in a patent solely for the purpose of pursuing infringement lawsuits.

Can intellectual-property protection



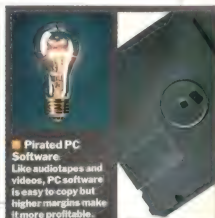
**■ Imitation Cartier Watch**  
Although it looks like the real McCoy, a Cartiera or Cartier City can be yours for as little as \$20.



**■ The Ven-Tel PC Modem**  
This knockoff, one of 150 copycats, sells for \$400, compared with \$600 for a Hayes.



**■ Bootleg Hollywood Movie**  
Legitimate movie videos cost an average of \$50. Pirated versions sell for about \$4.



**■ Pirated PC Software**  
Like audiotapes and videos, PC software is easy to copy but higher margins make it more profitable.

be too stringent? Maybe. The computer software industry, which thrives on the rapid exchange of ideas and incremental improvements, fears that vigorously enforced patents could chill innovation and stifle growth. Earlier this year, Hayes Microcomputer, the largest supplier of computer modems, won \$11 million in damages from three Silicon Valley firms that copied Hayes' software for sending and receiving data. The ruling alarmed programmers, who fear their own software could land

them in court if it merely resembles someone else's too closely. The industry also worries about the breadth of coverage. Can copyrights and patents be used to protect the display-screen appearance, the "look and feel" of software? Such questions are at the heart of Apple Computer's intently watched copyright suit against Microsoft and Hewlett-Packard, which Apple says copied its Macintosh software.

Time was when such fights over intellectual property were legal esoterica. No

longer. Get used to them because they are sure to command ever more attention. Says Lisa Raines, general counsel and director of the Industrial Biotechnology Association in Washington: "A patent is the single most important item in the industry today. Without it, no company would invest or invent." As global enterprise relies less on physical materials and more on human creativity, reliable protection of intellectual property will become central to world commerce. ■

## RETAILING

# Shelter from the Recession

**As summer starts, Home Depot leads a fix-up boom by taking the angst out of buying do-it-yourself wares**

**I**n the dismal U.S. retailing industry, home-improvement centers that sell everything from kitchen cabinets to grass seed have been a notable bright spot. Spurred by the spreading do-it-yourself itch, sales at the sprawling emporiums grew more than 10% a year in the 1980s, while retailing in general grew only about 6%. Even the stormy economy has held a silver lining for some companies, since people tend to fix up their homes rather than buy new ones during a downturn.

As consumers launch summer fix-up projects, many are heading for megastores run by Atlanta-based Home Depot, the do-it-yourself industry's hottest star. Home Depot has grown from four stores with sales of \$22 million in 1980 to 145 stores that rang up \$3.8 billion last year. Margaret McKenna, who watches the \$140 billion-a-year home-improvement and -repair business for Wall Street's Smith Barney, sees "a wide, wide margin in the industry between Home Depot and everybody else."

Home Depot has prospered by taking the angst out of the hangar-like spaces and vast array of items that can easily daunt do-it-yourself shoppers. All the firm's warehouse stores feature clearly marked displays and sales staffs wearing large orange aprons who roam the concrete floors to offer advice. Many employees are former carpenters, plumbers or other craftsmen who have traded in their tool kits for such incentives as the company's stock-purchase plan, which lets Home Depot's 26,000 workers buy shares at 15% below the market price; at week's end, the shares were quoted at 65%, up 23% since Jan. 2. The idea is to inspire a strong sense of loyalty, which translates into the cus-

tomerservice that is a key to the firm's success. Admits president Arthur Blank: "The real difference between us and everyone else is not in the merchandise."

Not that Home Depot lacks for things to sell. The company's stores average nearly 100,000 sq. ft., or more than twice the industry average, and stock some 30,000 items. To ensure that doors, windows, bathtubs and other goods are available when customers want them, Home Depot tries to stock them in each store

rather than in distant warehouses. That pleases shoppers and allows the firm to move merchandise quickly. Despite the recession, Home Depot's profits jumped from \$112 million in 1989 to \$163 million in 1990.

The company's stunning success has bulldozed others out of an industry in which more than 350 major firms are trying to compete. Channel Home Centers, a New Jersey-based chain that has been saddled with a \$268 million load of debt since it went private in 1986, entered Chapter 11 bankruptcy last January and plans to sell or close 34 of its 86 stores. Hechinger Co., a major Maryland-based chain of 115 centers, lost \$800,000 in last year's fourth quarter before rebounding with a \$7.2 million profit in the first quarter this year. That was down from \$8.4 million in the same period a year ago. In California the National Lumber and Supply Co. closed last year when its 60,000-sq.-ft. home-improvement centers proved unable to compete with larger, more efficiently run stores like Home Depot's.

Other firms are rethinking their strategies to compete with Home Depot. HomeClub, a California-based chain of 70 discount outlets, is dropping its policy of offering lower prices to customers who bought a \$10 to \$15 annual membership, even though the firm's profits rose strongly in the fourth quarter of 1990. The fee "was a bar to entry," explains president James Halpin, and with Home Depot sucking away customers, no competitor can afford such a disadvantage.

For its part, Home Depot is trying to figure out what its customers will want next. Anticipating that aging baby boomers may prefer to hire others to do their fix-up work, the company is testing a program at 17 stores to install such items as carpets, windows and doors. That way customers who weary of the do-it-yourself approach to home improvement can let Home Depot's experts do it themselves.

—By John Groumald.  
Reported by Kathryn Jackson Fallon/  
New York and Dan Winbush/Atlanta



**Helpful hints:** Home Depot employees, like this one with a shopper in Atlanta, are trained to offer barrels of advice

# On June 8, 1991 General Schwarzkopf will lead his troops one more time.



He led them to the greatest military victory in 45 years. But before the General retires this summer he will lead his troops once again – in the National Victory Celebration on June 8, in Washington, D.C. It will be the biggest military victory parade since World War II.

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**June 8, Washington, D.C.**



## Business Notes



The Big Train That Did at an Austin hearing

### TRANSPORTATION

## The Shrinking Of Texas

It isn't faster than a speeding bullet, but for Lone Star states in a hurry the so-called bullet train authorized last week by the Texas high-speed rail authority may be the next best thing: a 200-m.p.h. high-tech wonder that should eventually link Dallas, Houston, San Antonio and Austin in a 620-mile

commuter triangle—America's first ultra-fast rail line.

Texas went to the private sector for a train that could traverse the unending stretches of the Old West at a pace compatible with 21st century business. The winner of the 50-year franchise for the \$5.5 billion project: Texas TGV, an alliance of 19 engineering firms and financiers from North America and

France, where high-speed rail travel is a commonplace. The consortium promises a 1½-hour Dallas-to-Houston run by 1998 (the trip now takes four hours by car). Opposing the move is Dallas-based Southwest Airlines, which foresees government bailouts, high ticket prices and eventual failure for the futuristic choo-choo. If it is wrong, Southwest may have a hard time competing with the bullet, even though air travel is swifter still.

### TROUBLE

## "Too Damn Comfortable!"

Things look a bit grayer at Big Blue these days, at least judging from an internal memo leaked last week by someone within IBM. The theme of a charring corporate review delivered at an April management meeting in Armonk, N.Y., was "Everyone is too damn comfortable at a time when the business is in crisis." The critique continued: "There's no fun being a no-growth business. It's not the stockholders' fault. The prob-

lem belongs to those who manage the business." Remarkable words under any circumstances, but most remarkable considering the source: IBM chairman John Akers.

The cause of Akers' aches is hardly a secret. Once synonymous with computers, IBM has seen its worldwide share of the industry toboggan from 37% in 1983 to a current 23%, with little relief in sight. Such statistics may have been on Akers' mind when he warned his captive executive audience, "If any one of you is not keeping pace with the industry, then that is unsatisfactory performance."

### BANKING

## The Biggest Bailout

Goldome: the name was as good as gold through most of the '80s, as the savings bank based in Buffalo rapidly amassed a menu of failing savings banks around the state, with the blessings of business-first federal regulators. But as the go-go years went-went, Goldome turned to dross. The bank inched back toward profitability during 1989, only to face stricter capital requirements from a savvy set of feds in the wake of the S&L crisis. The new rules of the game fi-

nally proved Goldome's undoing last week.

As word went around Buffalo that government representatives were booking local hotel rooms while Goldome honchos were emptying their offices, Washington made it official: the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation was seizing Goldome in the biggest bailout of a savings bank in U.S. history. The spoils will go to Buffalo's First Empire State and Albany's KeyCorp, which sought the smallest amount of federal aid: the two offered a plan that could cut costs by canning workers. But Goldome's rescue may still cost U.S. taxpayers up to \$1 billion.

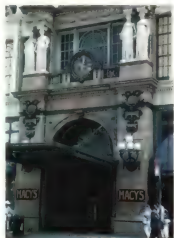
### DEPARTMENT STORES

## Macy's Loses Its Shirt

"We consider our results to be unsatisfactory," conceded the management of R.H. Macy in a letter to investors last week. This was less a case of candid confession than of acknowledging the obvious. Accompanying the letter was the Manhattan-based retailer's report on the most recent quarter, showing its largest three-month loss in three years: \$100 million, far more severe than the usual post-Christmas doldrums.

Macy's attributes the calamity at its cash registers to the "sluggish economy in the Northeast," where most of its stores are situated, as well as "unsettled conditions in the Middle East." Supporting this assessment: the latest consumer confidence index, released last

week by the Conference Board, which showed a drop for the second month in a row. But Macy's is betting big that it will



Fighting to fix the debacle on 34th Street

recoup when the recession ends. It has revealed plans to open 11 new outlets and expand or modernize existing stores during the next five years.

### AWARDS

## Did GM Add to Its Ads?

You would think that receiving an award from the Commerce Department would be honor enough for any corporation. According to the Texas attorney general's office, you would be

wrong. Last October General Motors' Cadillac division won the government's Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Award and the right to mention the medal in its advertising—a right GM exercised. The campaign had immediate results: lawyers for Texas complained that ads citing the

award violated the state's Deceptive Trade Practices Act. Newspaper spreads boasted that "167,000 applicants" had vied for the Baldrige when in fact only 97 had applied, and that the Commerce Department had praised Cadillac's engine, an asser-

tion questioned by Commerce itself. GM also caught flak for several overly flattering paraphrases of a government handout accompanying the award. The 167,000 applicants are now absent from GM's ads, but the corporation stands by everything else and is meeting with the state's attorneys to resolve the dispute.



## Essay

# Evil

By LANCE MORROW

■ think there should be a Dark Willard.

In the network's studio in New York City, Dark Willard would recite the morning's evil report. The map of the world behind him would be a multicolored Mercator projection. Some parts of the earth, where the overnight good prevailed, would glow with a bright transparency. But much of the map would be speckled and blotched. Over Third World and First World, over cities and plains and miserable islands would be smudges of evil, ragged blights, storm systems of massacre or famine, murders, black snows. Here and there, a genocide, a true abyss.

"*Homo homini lupus.*" Dark Willard would remark. "That's Latin, guys. Man is a wolf to man."

Dark Willard would report the natural evils—the outrages done by God and nature (the cyclone in Bangladesh, an earthquake, the deaths by cancer). He would add up the moral evils—the horrors accomplished overnight by man and woman. Anything new among the suffering Kurds? Among the Central American death squads? New hackings in South Africa? Updating on the father who set fire to his eight-year-old son? Or are those boys accused of shotgunning their parents in Beverly Hills to speed their inheritance of a \$14 million estate? An anniversary two years already since Tiananmen Square.

The only depravity uncharted might be cannibalism, a last frontier that fastidious man has mostly declined to explore. Evil is a different sort of gourmet.

The oil fires over Kuwait would be evil made visible and billowing. The evil turns the very air black and greasy. It suffocates and blots out the sun.

The war in the gulf had an aspect of the high-tech medieval. What Beelzebubs flew buzzing through the sky on the tips of Scuds and smart bombs, making mischief and brimstone? Each side demonized the other, as in every war: *Gott mit Uns*. Saddam Hussein had George Bush down as the Evil

One. George Bush had Saddam down as Hitler. In most of the West, Hitler is the 20th century's term for Great Satan. After the war, quick and obliterating, Hussein hardly seems worthy of the name of evil anymore.

Is there more evil now, or less evil, than there was five years ago, or five centuries?

THE past couple of years has brought a windfall of improvements in the world: the collapse of communism; the dismantling of apartheid; the end of the cold war and the nuclear menace, at least in its apocalyptic Big Power form. State violence (in the style of Hitler, Stalin, Ceausescu) seemed to be skulking off in disrepute. Francis Fukuyama, a former U.S. State Department policy planner, even proclaimed "the end of history." The West and democratic pluralism seemed to have triumphed: satellites and computers and communications and global business dissolved the old monoliths in much of the world. Humankind could take satisfaction in all that progress and even think for a moment, without cynicism, of Lucretius' lovely line: "So, little by little, time brings out each several thing into view, and reason raises it up into the shores of light." But much of the world has grown simultaneously darker.

Each era gets its suitable evils. The end of the 20th century is sorting out different styles of malignity. Evil has been changing its priorities, its targets, its cast of characters.

The first question to be asked, of course, is this: Does evil exist? I know a man who thinks it does not. I know another man who spent a year of his childhood in Auschwitz. I would like to have the two of them talk together for an afternoon, and see which one comes away persuaded by the other.

The man who does not believe in the existence of evil knows all about the horrors of the world. He knows that humanity is often vicious, violent, corrupt, atrocious. And that nature's cruelties and caprices are beyond rational account.



ing: Bangladesh does not deserve the curse that seems to hover over it. But the man thinks that to describe all that as evil gives evil too much power, too much status, that it confers on what is merely rotten and tragic the prestige of the absolute. You must not allow lower instincts and mere calamities to get dressed up as a big idea and come to the table with their betters and smoke cigars. Keep the metaphysics manageable: much of what passes for evil (life in Beirut, for example) may be just a nightmare of accidents. Or sheer stupidity, that sovereign, unacknowledged force in the universe.

The man's deeper, unstated thought is that acknowledging evil implies that Satan is coequal with God. Better not to open that door. It leads into the old Manichaean heresy: the world as battleground between the divine and the diabolical, the outcome very much in doubt: "*La prima luce*," Dante's light of creation, the brilliant ignition of God, against the satanic negation, the candle snuffer. Those uncomfortable with the idea of evil mean this: You don't say that the shadow has the same stature as the light. If you speak of the Dark Lord, of the "dark side of Sinai," do you foolishly empower darkness?

Or, for that matter (as an atheist or agnostic would have it), do such terms heedlessly empower the idea of God? God, after all, does not enjoy universal diplomatic recognition.

Is it possible that evil is a problem that is more intelligently addressed outside the religious context of God and Satan? Perhaps. For some, that takes the drama out of the discussion and dims it down to a paler shade of Unitarianism. Evil, in whatever intellectual framework, is by definition a monster. It has a strange coercive force: a temptation, a mystery, a horrible charm. Shakespeare understood that perfectly when he created Iago in his secular and motiveless malignity.

In 1939, as World War II began, Albert Camus wrote in his notebook: "The reign of beasts has begun." In the past year or two, the reign of beasts seemed to end, in some places anyway: brilliant days, miraculous remissions. But as Jung thought, different people inhabit different centuries. There are many centuries still loose in the world today, banging against one another. The war in

the gulf was in part a collision of different centuries and the cultural assumptions that those centuries carry with them. Camus's beasts are still wandering around in the desert and in the sometimes fierce nationalisms reawakening in the Soviet Union. They are alive and vicious in blood feuds from Northern Ireland to Sri Lanka.

Saddam Hussein raised atavistic questions about evil. But the West has grown preoccupied by newer forms—greed, terrorism, drugs, AIDS, crime, child abuse, global pollution, oil spills, acid rain. The fear of nuclear holocaust, which not long ago was the nightmare at the center of the imagination, has receded with amazing speed.

It is touching in this era, and rather strange, that nature, even at its most destructive, has clean hands. Humankind does not. For centuries nature's potential for evil, its overpowering menace, made it an enemy to be subdued. Today, at least in the developed world, nature is the vulnerable innocent. The human is the enemy.

New forms of evil raise new moral questions. Who is to blame for them? Are they natural evils—that is, acts of God and therefore his responsibility, or acts of the blind universe and therefore no one's? Or are they moral evils, acts that men and women must answer for?

Padrica Caine Hill, former bank teller, Washington mother and wife, dresses her three children one morning, makes breakfast for them, smokes some crack cocaine and lets the kids watch cartoons. Then with a clothesline she strangles eight-year-old Kristine and four-year-old Eric Jr. She tries to strangle two-year-old Jennifer, but leaves the girl still breathing softly on the floor. When the police come, Padrica Hill says she loves her children. Why did she kill them? "I don't know," she answers in apparently genuine bewilderment. "I hadn't planned on it."

Who or what is responsible? The woman herself?

## HITLER WAS EVIL...

He became the century's measure of individual evil, not only because of the carnage—6 million Jews exterminated in camps like Dachau, for example—but also because he invented a new form of systematic malignity. In 1939 Camus wrote that "the reign of beasts has begun."



## Essay



### BUT IS AIDS EVIL?

It is. But who is responsible? Nature? The victim? The government and medical research for not finding the cure fast enough? The new plague may stigmatize the suffering it brings. Or else it may turn the disease into a sort of political outrage and a cause.

She did smoke the crack, but presumably the effect she anticipated was a euphoric high, not the death of her children. The drug arrived like Visigoths in her brain and destroyed the civilization there, including the most powerful of human instincts, her mother love. The crack itself? The dealer who sold the crack? The others in the trade—kingpins and mules who brought the cocaine up from South America encased in condoms that they had swallowed? The peasants in Colombia who grew the coca plants in the first place?

The widening stain of responsibility for evil on a constricting planet changes moral contexts. Microevil, the murder of an individual child, becomes part of the macroorganism: all the evils breathe the same air, they have the same circulatory system. They pass through the arteries of the world, from the peasant's coca plant in Colombia to the mother's brain in Washington, thence to her fingers and the clothesline that

kills the children in the middle of morning cartoons.

Many writers have said that one of evil's higher accomplishments has been to convince people that it does not exist. Ivan Karamazov's bitter diabolism was a bit different: "If the devil doesn't exist, but man has created him, he has created him in his own image and likeness." In a nightmare, Ivan meets the devil, a character of oddly shabby gentility, who mentions how cold it was in space, from which he lately came, traveling in only an evening suit and open waistcoat. The devil speaks of the game of village girls who persuade someone to lick a frosted ax, to which of course the tongue sticks. The devil wonders idly, "What would become of an ax in space?" It would orbit there, "and the astronomers would calculate the rising and setting of the ax." Dostoyevsky's devil was prescient, speaking a century before bright metal began to fly up off the earth and circle round it. There is something spookily splendid about evil as an ax in space.

You must ask what evil would be if it did exist. What does the word evil mean when people use it?

Evil means, first of all, a mystery, the *mysterium iniquitatis*. We cannot know evil systematically or scientifically. It is brutal or elusive, by turns vivid and vague, horrible and subtle. We can know it poetically, symbolically, historically, emotionally. We can know it by its works. But evil is sly and bizarre. Hitler was a vegetarian. The Marquis de Sade opposed capital punishment.

Evil is easier than good. Creativity is harder than destructiveness. Dictators have leisure time for movies in their private screening rooms. When Hitler was at Berchtesgaden, he loved to see the neighborhood children and give them ice cream and cake. Saddam Hussein patted little Stuart Lockwood's head with avuncular menace and asked if he was getting enough cornflakes and milk. Stalin for years conducted the Soviet Union's business at rambling, sinister, alcoholic dinner parties that began at 10 and ended at dawn. All his ministers attended, marinating in vodka and terror. Sometimes one of them would be taken away at first light by the NKVD, and never seen again.

Evil is the Bad elevated to the status of the inexplicable. To understand is to forgive. Evil sometimes means the thing we cannot understand, and cannot forgive. The Steinberg case in New York City, in which a lawyer battered his six-year-old foster daughter Lisa to death, is an example. Ivan Karamazov speaks of a Russian nobleman who had his bounds tear an eight-year-old boy to pieces in front of the boy's mother because he threw a stone at one of the dogs. Karamazov asks the bitter question that is at the heart of the mystery of evil, "What have children to do with it, tell me, please?"

Evil is anyone outside the tribe. Evil works by dehumanizing the Other. A perverse, efficient logic: identifying others as evil justifies all further evil against them. A man may kill a snake without compunction. The snake is an evil thing, has evil designs, is a different order of being. Thus: an "Aryan" could

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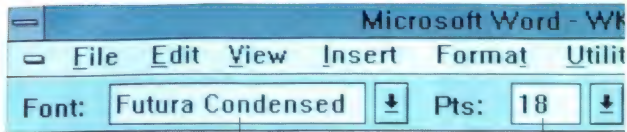
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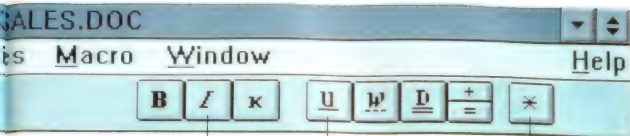
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kill a Jew, could make an elaborate bureaucratic program of killing Jews. Thus: white men could come in the middle of the night in Mississippi and drag a black man out and hang him.

Getting people to think in categories is one of the techniques of evil. Marxist-Leninist zealots thought of "the bourgeoisie," a category, a class, not the human beings, and it is easy to exterminate a category, a class, a race, an alien tribe. Mao's zealots in the Cultural Revolution, a vividly brainless evil, destroyed China's intellectual classes for a generation.

Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge sent to the killing fields all who spoke French or wore glasses or had soft hands. The Khmer Rouge aimed to cancel all previous history and begin at Year Zero. Utopia, this century has learned the hard way, usually bears a resemblance to hell. An evil chemistry turns the dream of salvation into damnation.

Evil is the Bad hardened into the absolute. Good and evil contend in every mind. Evil comes into its own when it crosses a line and commits itself and hardens its heart, when it becomes merciless, relentless.

William James said, "Evil is a disease." But it can be an atrocious liberation, like the cap flying off a volcano. The mind bursts forth to explore the black possibilities. Vietnam taught many Americans about evil. Hasan i Sabbah, founder of a warrior cult of Ismailis in the 11th century in Persia, gave this instruction: "Nothing is true, everything is permitted." It is a modern thought that both charmed and horrified William Burroughs, the novelist and drug addict who like many in the 20th century somehow could not keep away from horror. During a drunken party in Mexico in 1951, Burroughs undertook to play William Tell, using a pistol to shoot a glass off his wife's head. He put a bullet in her brain instead.

Evil is charismatic. A famous question: Why is Milton's Satan in *Paradise Lost* so much more attractive, so much more interesting, than God himself? The human mind romances the idea of evil. It likes the doomed defiance. Satan and evil have many faces, a flashy variety. Good has only one face. Evil can also be attractive because it has to do with conquest and domination and power. Evil has a perverse fascination that good somehow does not. Evil is entertaining. Good, a sweeter medium, has a way of boring people.

Evil is a word we use when we come to the limit of humane comprehension. But we sometimes suspect that it is the core of our true selves. In *Young Goodman Brown*, Nathaniel Hawthorne's Everyman goes to a satanic meeting in a dark wood, and the devil declares, "Evil is the nature of mankind. Welcome again, my children, to the communion of your race."

Three propositions:

- 1) God is all powerful.
- 2) God is all good.
- 3) Terrible things happen.

As the theologian and author Frederick Buechner has written, the dilemma has always been this: you can match any two of those propositions, but never match all three.

At the beginning of his *Sam-*

*ma theologian*, Thomas Aquinas admitted that the existence of evil is the best argument against the existence of God.

Theologians have struggled for centuries with theodicy, the problem of a good God and the existence of evil. Almost all such exertions have been unconvincing. Augustine, speaking of the struggle to understand evil, at last wrote fatalistically, "Do not seek to know more than is appropriate." At the time of the Black Death, William Langland wrote in *Piers Plowman*: "If you want to know why God allowed the Devil to lead us astray . . . then your eyes ought to be in your arse."

The historian Jeffrey Burton Russell asks, "What kind of God is this? Any decent religion must face the question squarely, and no answer is credible that cannot be given in the presence of dying children." Can one propose a God who is partly evil? Elie Wiesel, who was in Auschwitz as a child, suggests that perhaps God has "retracted himself" in the matter of evil. Wiesel has written, "God is in exile, but every individual, if he strives hard enough, can redeem mankind, and even God himself."

Perhaps evil is an immanence in the world, in the mind, just as divinity is an immanence. But evil has performed powerful works. Observes Russell: "It is true that there is evil in each of us, but adding together even large numbers of individual evils does not explain an Auschwitz, let alone the destruction of the planet. Evil on this scale seems to be qualitatively as well as quantitatively different. It is no longer a personal but a transpersonal evil, arising from some kind of collective unconscious. It is also possible that it is beyond the transpersonal and is truly transcendent, an entity outside as well as inside the

## BUT IS SADDAM EVIL?

Before the gulf war, he looked like a devil dangerous enough to slaughter innocents and set off holocausts. He was, and he did, though not in the ways he wished. After the quick and obliterating war, Saddam descended from the status of monster to wicked fool.



## Essay

human mind, an entity that would exist even if there were no human race to imagine it." So here evil rounds back again into its favored element, mystery.

Perhaps God has other things on his mind. Perhaps man is to God as the animals of the earth are to man—picturesque, interesting and even nourishing. Man is, on the whole, a catastrophe to the animals. Maybe God is a catastrophe to man in the same way. Can it be that God visits evils upon the world not out of perversity or a desire to harm, but because our suffering is a byproduct of his needs? This could be one reason why almost all theodicies have about them a pathetic quality and seem sometimes undignified exertions of the mind.



An eerie scene at the beginning of the *Book of Job*, that splendid treatise on the mysteries of evil, has God and Satan talking to each other like sardonic gentlemen gamblers who have met by chance at the racetrack at Saratoga. God seems to squint warily at Satan, and asks, in effect, "So, Satan, what have you been doing with yourself? And Satan with a knowing swagger replies, in effect, "I've been around the world, here and there, checking it out. Then God and Satan make a chillingly cynical bet on just how much pain Job can endure before he cracks and curses God.

Satan wanders. Evil is a seepage across borders, across great distances. Herman Melville, in *Moby Dick*, wrote that a colt in rural Vermont, if it smells a fresh buffalo robe (the colt

having no knowledge or experience of buffalo, which lived on the plains) will "start, snort, and with bursting eyes paw the ground in phrenzies of affright. Here thou beholdest even in a dumb brute the instinct of the knowledge of the demonism of the world."

Evil and good have probably been more or less constant presences in the human heart, their proportions staying roughly the same over the centuries. And perhaps the chief dark categories have remained constant and familiar. The first time that death appeared in the world, it was murder. Cain slew Abel. "Two men," says Elie Wiesel, "and one of them became a killer." The odds have presumably been fifty-fifty ever since. The Old Testament is full of savageries that sound eerily contemporary. (The British writer J.R. Ackerley once wrote to a friend, "I am halfway through *Genesis*, and quite appalled by the disgraceful behavior of all the characters involved, including God.")

Petrarch's rant against the papal court at Avignon in the 14th century sounds like a hyperbolic inventory of life in certain neighborhoods of the late 20th century: "This is a sewer to which all the filths of the universe come to be reunited. Here people despise God, they adore money, they trample underfoot both human laws and divine law. Everything here breathes falsehood: the air, the earth, the houses, and above all, the bedrooms."

Western thought since the Renaissance has considered that the course of mankind was ascending, up out of the shadow of evil and superstition and unreason. Thomas Jefferson, a brilliant creature of the Enlightenment, once wrote, "Barbarism has . . . been receding before the steady step of amelioration; and will in time, I trust, disappear from the earth."

In the 20th century, Lucietus' shores of light vanished like the coasts of Atlantis, carried under by terrible convulsions. The ascendant civilizations (the Europeans, Americans, Japanese)

accomplished horrors that amounted to a usurpation of the power of God over creation. The world in this century went about a work of de-creation—destroying its own generations in World War I; attempting to extinguish the Jews of Europe in the Holocaust, to destroy the Armenian people, the Ukrainian kulaks and, much later, the Cambodians—all the reverberating genocides.

In any case, the 20th century shattered the lenses and paradigms, the very mind, of reason. The universe went from Newton's model to Einstein's, and beyond, into absurdities even more profound. An underlying assumption of proportion and continuity in the world perished. The proportions between cause and effect were skewed. A minuscule event (indeed, an atom) could blossom into vast obliterations. Einstein said God does not play dice with the world. But if there was order, either scientific or moral, in God's universe, it became absurdly inaccessible.

If evil is a constant presence in the human soul, it is also true that there are more souls now than ever, and by that logic both good and evil

## BUT IS NATURE EVIL?

The cyclone, we assume, had no terrible intentions. It crashed across Bangladesh with a casual violence and left behind an evil result. When bad luck descends repeatedly, destructively, it begins to take on the prestige of a force above nature: a curse.



Photo by AP Wirephoto, courtesy of AP Wirephoto



## MAYBE GOD IS IN EXILE

There was a child there—a nine-month-old boy who was standing in his baby walker. He was killed by a bullet the police called random. At the heart of the mystery of evil is Ivan Karamazov's bitter question: "What have children to do with it, tell me, please?"

are rising on a Malthusian curve, or at any rate both good and evil may be said to be increasing in the world at the same rate as the population: 1.7% per annum.

The world is swinging on a hinge between two ages. The prospect awakens, in the Western, secular mind, the idea that all future outcomes, good or evil, are a human responsibility. John Kennedy said in his Inaugural Address, "Here on earth, God's work must surely be our own." When there will no longer be any place to hide, it becomes important to identify the real evils and not go chasing after false evils. It is possible that people will even grow up on the subject of sex.

Religions over many centuries developed elaborate codifications of sin and evil. The Catholic Church, for example, identified Sins that Cry to Heaven for Vengeance, (oppression of the poor, widows and orphans, for example, or defrauding laborers of their wages), Sins Against the Holy Spirit, and so on, sins mortal and venial, virtues cardinal and sins deadly.

With the emergence of a new world will come a recodification of evils. Obviously offenses against the earth are coming to be thought of as evils in ways we would not have suspected a few years ago. The developed world, at least, is forming a consensus that will regard violence to the planet to be evil in the way we used to think of unorthodox sexual practices and partnerships as being outside the realm of accepted conduct.

A Frenchman named Jean Baudrillard recently wrote a book called *The Transparency of Evil*. We live, says Baudrillard, in a postorgiastic age, in which all liberations have been accomplished, all barriers torn down, all limits abolished. Baudrillard makes the (very French) case that evil, far from being undesirable, is necessary—essential to maintaining the vitality of civilization. That suggests a refinement of an old argument favored by Romantics and 19th century anarchists like Bakunin, who said, "The urge for destruction is also a creative urge." It is not

an argument I would try out on Elie Wiesel or on the mother of a political prisoner disappeared by the Argentine authorities.

And yet . . . and yet . . . evil has such perversities, or good has such resilience, that a powerful (if grotesque) case can be made that Adolf Hitler was the founding father of the state of Israel. Without Hitler, no Holocaust, without Holocaust, no Israel.

Scientists working with artificial intelligence have a fantasy—who knows if it is more than that?—that eventually all the contents of the human brain, a life, can be gradually emptied into a brilliant, nondecaying, stainless, deathless sort of robotic personoid. And when the transfer of all the vast and intricately nuanced matter of the mind and soul has been accomplished, the memories of the cells etched onto microchips, the human body, having been replicated in a better container, will be allowed to wither and die.

Will evil be transferred along with good and installed in the stainless personoid? Or can the scientists sift the soul through a kind of electronic cheesecloth and remove all the ancient evil traces, the reptilian brain, the lashing violence, the tribal hatred, the will to murder? Will the killer be strained out of the soul? Will the inheritance of Cain be left to wither and die with the human husk, the useless flesh?

If so, will grace and love, evil's enemies, wither too? The question goes back to the Garden. Does the good become meaningless in a world without evil? Do the angels depart along with the devils? If the stainless canister knows nothing of evil, will Mozart sound the same to it as gunfire?

# Stalking Who Done It At the White House

**Did Millie or faulty faucets really lead the President and First Lady to develop the same disease? Nonsense. But autoimmune disorders can be strange.**

By CHRISTINE GORMAN

**C**all it a case of plumbing panic. Within two years, the President and Barbara Bush develop the same overactive thyroid disorder, and best-selling pooch Millie suffers from a bout of doggie lupus. Heightening the drama, doctors reveal that both of these diseases hail from the mysterious realm of autoimmune disorders, which occur when the body unaccountably begins attacking itself. Pundits confidently calculate the odds of such a coincidence at 1 in 3 million. Latter-day Clouseaus begin looking everywhere for a culprit. Dan Quayle raises questions about the ancient plumbing at the Naval Observatory—the official 100-year-old vice-presidential residence, which the Bushes occupied for eight years. Suspicion spreads to other sources of presidential water, which are tested for the presence of toxic levels of iodine or lithium.

While federal scientists raced to analyze their samples last week, Americans flooded the White House switchboard with a few theories of their own about whatdiddit—everything from chemicals in the carpets to infectious pets. One citizen counseled the President to slather lemon juice over his throat and chest to soothe his hyperactive thyroid. Others admonished him to eat his hated broccoli since it contains small amounts of a naturally occurring substance that restrains the organ.

Well-meaning advice to be sure, but utter nonsense. "They're not going to find anything in the water," says Dr. Lewis Braverman, chief of endocrinology at the University of Massachusetts Medical Center. Lithium decreases the thyroid's output instead of increasing it. As for iodine, a person would have to consume at least 10 to 50 times the normal daily dosage in order to trigger hyperthyroidism. "It's sort of a feeding frenzy," says Dr. Charles Christian, physician in chief at the Hospital for Special Surgery in New York City. "All the attention is pressuring the people taking care of the President to prove that something hasn't been missed."

The fact that both Bushes developed the same rare disorder may seem surprising, but it is not inexplicable. Just as some-

body always wins a lottery in which the odds are 3 million to 1, so some couples are bound to suffer identical fates. "No one made such a fuss over us when my husband and I both developed Graves' within three years of each other," says Denise Ploetz, an adult-education teacher from Newark, Ohio, whose condition was diagnosed in 1976. "Our doctor just said it was a coincidence."

Although we may never know precisely what triggered the Bushes' conditions, scientists have made extraordinary advances in just the past decade in understanding what goes wrong in autoimmune disorders such as Graves' disease. Their discoveries, driven in part by the intensive study of the AIDS epidemic, reveal that the immune system is not a single straightforward defense system but many elaborate systems whose cellular members constantly patrol the body looking for friends and challenging foes. "The immune system is very like the brain—it has to recognize everything," says Dr. Howard Weiner, associate professor of neurology at the Harvard Medical School. "Every virus, every piece of dust, your body has to recognize as foreign."

Autoimmune disorders occur when the

**First Barbara fell ill, then the top dog. When the President faltered, Secret Service agents began investigating. One of the suspects: tap water at the Vice President's official residence.**



## AUTOIMMUNE AILMENTS

DISEASE	WHERE IT STRIKES	NUMBER OF CASES IN THE U.S.
Rheumatoid Arthritis	Joints	2,100,000
Diabetes (Type 1)	Insulin-making cells in pancreas	1,400,000
Graves' Disease	Thyroid	1,000,000
Systemic Lupus Erythematosus	Skin, joints, kidneys & other organs	500,000
Multiple Sclerosis	Nerve-cell sheaths	250,000
Myasthenia Gravis	Nerve-muscle connections	100,000

TIME Chart by Joe Lefkowitz

body engages in "friendly fire" against its own tissues. This mistaken course of action can either overstimulate an organ, as in Graves' disease, or destroy tissue, as in multiple sclerosis, in which the myelin sheath surrounding nerves in the spinal cord and brain is attacked. Some immune diseases, like systemic lupus erythematosus, whose signs include skin lesions and arthritis, strike more women than men. Others, like ankylosing spondylitis, which can fuse the spine into a bent-over position, predominate in men. In all, 40 different maladies, affecting about 6% of the U.S. population, are thought to be autoimmune in nature. Among the most common: rheumatoid arthritis, in which the collagen fibers of the joints come under assault, and Type 1 diabetes, in which the immune system targets the insulin-producing cells in the pancreas.

One of the difficulties with sleuthing the causes of these disorders is that so many factors are involved. Inheritance can play a role: several genetic types have been found that confer an increased risk of autoimmune disease. Dr. Christian, who has been called in on the Bushes' case, plans to test the President and his wife to see if they share the same markers for genetic susceptibility as most people who have Graves'. However, heredity is by no means the whole story. For example, if one of two identical twins develops an autoimmune disease, the other twin will get the same disease less than half the time.

Clearly environment, life-style and medical history play some kind of role. For years doctors have recognized that many children who develop rheumatoid arthritis—sometimes almost overnight—show signs of viral or bacterial infection just before the onset of the disease. Some patients with rheumatoid arthritis sweat they can affect their disease through exercise and diet.

A growing body of evidence suggests that such ubiquitous viruses as herpes, Epstein-Barr and cytomegalovirus may be enough to push the immune systems of genetically susceptible people into overdrive. The fact that George and Barbara developed Graves' within two years of each other may point to a common infectious trigger—perhaps a cold they shared in Helsinki or Kennebunkport.

For some autoimmune conditions, researchers have begun to decipher the intricate interplay between genetics and environment that leads to disease. Much to the surprise of many scientists, immunologists have discovered that in the process of manufacturing millions of T cells—the blood-borne infantry of the immune system—the body sometimes produces a few treacherous double agents. Early in life the thymus gland, located over the heart, acts as a checkpoint to weed out the potential traitors. Sometimes, however, a few of these renegade T cells get through to circulate in the body. Then it

becomes a game of chance. Invading viruses or bacteria may inadvertently activate the errant T cells. That leads to the identification of good healthy organs as targets for destruction.

One of the greatest mysteries in immunology is why more people do not succumb to autoimmune diseases. For example, researchers now realize that nearly everyone harbors T cells that will react against their own nerve tissue. Yet less than 1 person in 1,000 develops multiple sclerosis. What else is the body doing to police its overly zealous defenders? Scientists do not expect the uncertainties to persist much longer. "We're at a point where we know when a child would be at a 50 to 100 times greater risk of getting a long list of autoimmune diseases," says Stanford neurologist Lawrence Steinman. "For several diseases we know the bacteria or viruses that can trigger the illness in people with an underlying genetic susceptibility." Improved treatments, reflecting this new knowledge, are beginning to emerge from the lab.

**F**ortunately for the Bushes, Graves' disease is relatively easy to manage.

But there is no sure way yet to stop the progression of multiple sclerosis and numerous other autoimmune disorders. Using an approach pioneered by Dr. Irun Cohen at the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovot, Israel, researchers are working on vaccines that help tone down overactive immune systems by targeting rebel T cells. So far, American and Dutch researchers have injected these experimental vaccines into a handful of patients with rheumatoid arthritis and multiple sclerosis. Because the diseases are long-term disorders that are subject to spontaneous remissions, however, it is too soon to tell how effective this approach could be. One potential drawback: scientists may have to customize the vaccine for each individual patient.

Alternatively, researchers may be able to coax the body into becoming a little more forgiving. Eating, for example, is possible in part because the immune system does not mount an attack on something that has passed through the gut. So Harvard's Weiner has begun feeding small doses of myelin to some multiple sclerosis patients in the hopes of increasing their tolerance for the protein. Scientists are also supplementing the diets of people who suffer from rheumatoid arthritis with tiny doses of specially prepared collagen.

The great White House plumbing puzzle of 1991 will probably prove to be a wild-goose chase, but possibly it will bring some benefits. Researchers in immunology hope all the attention will heighten interest in their field and maybe even produce more research funds. At the very least, it has raised awareness of a category of diseases that, while commonplace, have been only dimly understood. —With reporting by Barbara Dolan/Chicago and Andrew Purvis/New York

## Health

# Watching Children Starve to Death

An exclusive look at the suffering inside Iraq's devastated hospitals

By NINA BURLEIGH BAGHDAD

In a dingy pediatric ward at Baghdad's Qadissiya Hospital, Fadhiya, 19, stands vigil over a crib where her five-month-old daughter lies dying of malnutrition. She has been here before: a month earlier she watched as her three-year-old son succumbed to starvation and diarrhea. Now she watches as her little daughter, her face all shriveled and her body bony, grows smaller every day. The hospital is crammed with such children. But it has no food to save them, and scant medicine.

Even sheets and diapers are lacking, so the famished babies lie naked on plastic mattresses. Each day the hospital admits another 10 cases of marasmus—an advanced state of malnutrition that causes the child's face and body to become as shriveled and haggard as those of a wizened old man. Other children have grotesquely swollen bellies—a symptom of the starvation syndrome known as kwashiorkor. Before the war, says the hospital's director, there was barely one such case a year.

While America has celebrated a swift, efficient victory in the Persian Gulf, a tour of hospitals inside Iraq tells the story of a different war. This one is still being fought, against epidemic disease and starvation, the conflict's sorry legacies. Its principal victims are children. The tour, sponsored by the Arab-American Medical Association for doctors of Iraqi extraction, afforded unprecedented access to the country's ravaged medical system and desperate doctors and patients. But even on the street, the hunger and suffering were palpable. "I was shocked by the look on people's faces," Cleveland physician Nadia al-Kaisi told TIME, the only U.S. publication represented on the tour. "They are all emotionless, desperate faces without smiles."

Hospital administrators and doctors, who give interviews in rooms invariably decorated with a portrait of Saddam Hussein smiling benevolently, are often reluctant to admit the extent of the health disaster they are witnessing. But signs of distress are everywhere. Many hospitals were damaged by allied bombing, including three in Baghdad and two in Basra. Completely destroyed was

the only hospital in the country that performed kidney transplants and advanced heart surgery. In other cases, physical damage to medical facilities was caused by the civilian uprisings that followed the war.

But most widespread problems are traceable to the allied devastation of power plants and to the continuing trade embargo. Without electricity, hospitals cannot

mean to include food and medicine, they have effectively done so, according to health professionals in Iraq. In hospitals where children lie dying of malnutrition, mothers hovering over cribs hold out a hand when they see a foreign visitor and beg, "Haleeb, haleeb," (Milk, milk). Because the cash-starved government can no longer afford to subsidize the cost of im-

ported baby formula and other staples, prices have skyrocketed. A can of Similac cost half a dinar (\$1.50) before the war; now it costs 20 dinars.

One day's worth of formula for Fadhiya's dying five-month-old daughter would cost more than her husband makes in a week. Qadissiya Hospital ran out two months ago, and the mothers are unable to breast-feed because they cannot find enough food for themselves. Fadhiya and thousands of other indigents who live in the Baghdad slum known as Saeedam City have taken to foraging alongside dogs and sheep, searching for food in the mounting piles of garbage that line every street. There has been no refuse pickup in the neighborhood in five months. Nur is there clean water. Sewage has backed up into the streets in greenish, foul-smelling pools.



A mother takes her starving five-month-old to Qadissiya Hospital

Because of such conditions, the threat from dysentery, typhoid fever, cholera and other diseases brought on by consuming contaminated food and water is even greater than the threat of starvation. "Dysentery is the No. 1 killer in Iraq right now," says Arfan al-Hani, a suburban-Chicago cardiologist who led the Arab-American medical delegation. Hospitals across the country are admitting two to five times as many patients with gastroenteritis caused by waterborne infections as they did before the war. Some other infections, including salmonella and shigellosis, could be treated with simple antibiotics. But all the doctors can offer are sugar-water solutions, and so patients are dying.

Children are faring the worst. According to the Iraqi Red Crescent, 80% of all deaths since the cease-fire have been youngsters. A Harvard medical team that visited Iraq in late April estimated that 170,000 children will die of gastrointestinal

operate even such basic equipment as incubators or refrigerators needed to store blood and medicine, much less the more sophisticated machinery of operating rooms and intensive-care units. In the northern city of Arbil, all premature infants are dying: there are no working incubators. In the southern city of Karbala, a hospital without refrigeration relies on a makeshift method to acquire blood for transfusions: the staff sends a young man running out of the hospital to fetch a person with the proper blood type, who will give blood as the operation progresses.

While economic sanctions have not

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—Luis Silva, 30

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## 1151-4536(0) Schaeffer, 1993

## Requiem for the Space Station

NASA's proposed house in the sky will cost too much—and do too little

By DENNIS OVERBYE

Once upon a time, a space station seemed like a good idea. Back in 1984, when NASA first proposed to put a permanent house in orbit, it sounded like a logical next step for a nation gaining confidence in its new shuttle, flexing its space legs and preparing to go farther. After all, if we were going to send humans to Mars or back to the moon, the astronauts needed a place to assemble their giant spaceships; if we were going to monitor large-scale changes on earth, scientists needed a platform to watch from; if ultra-pure drugs and crystals produced in zero gravity were going to revolutionize industry, technicians needed a place to make the stuff. The space station was supposed to cost \$8 billion and be ready in 1992.

That was then and this is now. In the meantime, *Challenger* exploded, Hubble blurred, and the prospective space station ballooned to a Tinkertoy-looking assemblage bigger than a football field with a price tag of \$38 billion, which would require 3,700 hours a year of dangerous spacewalking to maintain. Recently NASA scaled back the space station, shaving, it said, about \$8 billion off the cost, but the General Accounting Office pegged the price of this new space station at \$40 billion. The long-term cost, the GAO said, could amount to \$118 billion, which puts the station in the same league as the S&I bailout and the Advanced Tactical Fighter.

All this for a space station that does... nothing. In the interest of saving money, NASA planners stripped the station of its varied and often contradictory functions. No longer was it to be a truck stop or observation platform or metallurgical factory. The sole stated scientific rationale left for the station was to conduct biological research on weightlessness, but the plans originally omitted a centrifuge, the most important gadget needed to do that work. The National Academy of Sciences concluded that the space station had no scientific use at all. Which left as the main purpose of the station what cynics have suggested it was all along: to be a sort of WPA for the aerospace industry. In May the House Appropriations subcommittee accordingly cut the station from NASA's budget.

Vowing to restore the space station, Administration officials contend that science has never been the whole point of the space station. Rather it is intended to maintain American prestige (would that they felt the same way about health care, say, or the arts). That's the kind of thing we used to hear about the space shuttle when the rest of the space program was being consumed by its development costs.

There has always been a slightly strained air to NASA's pronouncements about the space shuttle, like the comparison of last month's Star Wars mission to a ballet—this from an agency that has been to the moon and skimmed the rings of Saturn.

Ten years after the first launch of the space shuttle was supposed to initiate an era of routine space flight, NASA still

doesn't have its act together. As of this writing, technicians are counting down for a nine-day life-sciences mission, originally scheduled for the mid-1980s. During the most recent delay, engineers were horrified to discover, more or less by accident, that sensors in *Columbia's* fuel line were cracked. If one had broken loose, it could have been sucked into the spacecraft's powerful pumps, causing the ship to explode in a replay of the *Challenger* disaster. Apparently nobody had ever thought of checking the fuel line's sensors before.

As the popular saying goes, "You don't have to be a rocket scientist to..." The problem, of course, is that NASA is full of rocket scientists, but its fatal flaws always turn out to be of the homely variety. The engineers can rebuild computers floating upside down in space, but they forget to talk to one another on the ground. So the managers of the Hubble Space Telescope didn't know there may have been something wrong with the

mirror's shape, and the launch officials didn't know O-rings could stiffen in the cold. It is no knock on the spacemanship of the astronauts to admit that space is a difficult and dangerous place—just on the salesmanship of the agency that put them there. NASA's strategy resembles George Bush's in the Persian Gulf: get the troops over there, and then the people will have to support them. NASA has always believed it has to put people in space in order to have public support. The folly of the space shuttle was that it put human lives at the center of every space operation, no matter how trivial, outrageously expensive or—as it turned out—dangerous. Seven people paid with their lives. To paraphrase Bob Dylan, What price do we have to pay to get

out of going through all this twice?

NASA for most of the past 30 years represented some of the best that America and indeed the human race had to offer: curiosity, resourcefulness, courage and a dream. But now the agency's agenda seems bare except for what one Congresswoman described recently as an empty garage. Forty billion dollars is too much for a space station that does nothing—not when there are real adventures and real science on which to spend the money. Commenting on the brave new do-nothing space station, John Logsdon, a space policy analyst at George Washington University, said that canceling the space station would be an admission that NASA has wasted billions of dollars and years of planning. It would, he explained, destroy the credibility of the space program. Of course, exactly the opposite is true. NASA has wasted years and billions. Canceling the space station would be the best thing that ever happened to NASA's credibility. But it would take real leadership, as opposed to the kind we've been getting, which consists of waving a finger in the air and saying we're No. 1.

Once upon a time a space station seemed like a good idea. But then so did putting teachers and Congressmen in space. Once.



ILLUSTRATION BY JIM HANCOCK

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## Ethics

# Shooting Leopards in a Barrel

In a perversion of sport, canned hunts offer helpless exotic animals for slaughter in exchange for big bucks

By EMILY MITCHELL

They are called "canned hunts," but by any name they are slaughter, not sport, with no vestige of a fair contest between man and beast. In pursuit of a trophy to hang on the wall or a videotape of their exploits, well-to-do hunters in the U.S. are paying thousands of dollars to shoot defenseless exotic animals at point-blank range. There is no accurate count of the number of such killings, but authorities are finally beginning to crack down on them.

Floyd Lester Patterson III, a rancher in Monterey County, Calif., was charged in April with 27 misdemeanors involving illegal possession and transportation of animals and parts of animals on the endangered-species list. When drought forced him to sell off most of his cattle, Patterson began conducting legal hunts of boar and other game. Then he allegedly obtained nine large cats that are on the endangered-species list, including a spotted leopard and a Bengal tiger. Some of them were probably purchased from zoos. According to the charges, hunters paid around \$3,500 each to blast away at the animals; several may have been killed a few feet from their cages.

Similar grisly rites apparently took



No contest: a California game warden with seized "trophies"

place at the 160-acre Texoma Hunting Wilderness owned by Charles B. ("Bart") Bartholomew, in Bryan County, Okla., about 100 miles northeast of Dallas. For roughly \$8,000 each, hunters could stand in a fenced field where mountain lions, grizzly bears and other beasts were prodded out of cages into their gun sights. State and federal agents raided the multimillion-dollar operation and arrested Bartholomew. His trial ended last week in a plea bargain; he will spend six months in jail, do 400 hours of community service and forfeit his

"preserve" to the state. County district attorney Theresa McGhee says, "I think we've made our statement: we as a society are not going to tolerate this."

In Texas, says federal fish and wildlife agent Jim Stinebaugh, canned hunts are quick and dirty, most of them the work of "fly-by-night promoters who find a cat at an exotic-animal auction and then put a deal together." Two hunting guides, Daniel Lee Moody and Ronald Terrell McClood, were indicted in San Antonio last April for unlawfully conspiring to sell and transport a black leopard. McClood has pleaded guilty to a lesser charge. A sickening videotape shows the leopard being released from a cage and running under a nearby pickup truck. A pack of dogs flushed it out of hiding, and for \$3,000, a "hunter" from Louisiana had the privilege of shooting the panic-stricken animal.

Increasingly, breeders are raising exotic animals specifically for hunting. Investigations of canned hunts and wildlife-trafficking operations are under way in Texas and elsewhere, but weak and conflicting laws make officials' jobs harder. An animal may have federal protection as a member of an endangered species, for example, yet no statute prevents a zoo from selling it to private owners within the same state. Additional legal pressure will be needed to give current restrictions more teeth. True hunters should be delighted to join in bringing an end to a perverted bloodlust.

—Reported by Kathy Shocket/  
Phoenix and Don Winbush/Atlanta

## Milestones

**APPOINTED.** Roger Mahony, 55, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Los Angeles, and Anthony Bevilacqua, 67, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Philadelphia; to the College of Cardinals by Pope John Paul II; in Vatican City. The two American clerics were among 22 new Cardinals named worldwide.

**RECOVERING.** Wayne Newton, 49, high-pitched Las Vegas singer and real estate entrepreneur; from walking pneumonia; in Las Vegas. Known for crooning banal crowd pleasers like *Danke Schoen*, Newton had spent three months on a concert tour before completing a one-month nine-show-a-week engagement at the Las Vegas Hilton last week.

**DIED.** Tom Cassidy, 41, intrepid Cable News Network business anchor, who

shared his battle against AIDS with viewers; of complications from the disease; in New York City. Three years after joining CNN's business news department as a correspondent in 1981, Cassidy founded the network's *Pinnacle*, a program about business leaders. In 1987 he was diagnosed as having AIDS, which he discussed in an acclaimed show last March.

**DIED.** Gene Clark, 49, one of the five founding members of the Byrds, a leading folk-rock group in the 1960s; of undetermined causes; in Sherman Oaks, Calif. Joined by Roger McGuinn, Mike Clarke, Chris Hillman and David Crosby, Clark played harmonica and tambourine, and the group performed songs inspired by the Beatles and Bob Dylan. The Byrds' hits, including *Mr. Tambourine Man* and *Eight Miles High*,

blended soaring 12-string-guitar riffs and tightly harmonized singing.

**DIED.** Tom Ewen, 50, prolific Tony Award-winning playwright; of cardiac arrest; in Palm Beach, Fla. With almost two score of his experimental plays running in the 1960s and '70s, he was dubbed the Neil Simon of off-off Broadway. Ewen earned a Tony Award in 1982 for the best book of a musical, for *Dreamgirls*.

**DIED.** Edward Benton Dodd, 88, creator and former artist of the comic strip *Mark Trail*; in Gainesville, Ga. From 1946 until 1981, when he turned the strip over to Jack Elrod, Dodd presented the adventures of Trail, an outdoors writer who champions wildlife and conservation. At its peak, more than 200 newspapers carried *Mark Trail*.

# Hot Rock on a Fresh Roll

**That good old stuff is coming back, displacing dance discs and rap, but it's not quite the same. New attitudes and rhythms are shaking and breaking.**

By JAY COCKS

**R**ock rules again. And you didn't even know it had abdicated, did you? Admit it: you haven't been paying attention. And that's part of the problem.

If you're among the generation that matured with rock—the same generation that made rock grow from Elvis to Dylan, Berry to the Beatles and beyond—try this E-Z test at home. What's the last concert you went to see: the Rolling Stones in '89, maybe? And what's the latest CD by a new artist that you bought for your own pleasure? Could it be Chris Isaak, because his hit single *Wicked Game* sounds like a slick hunk of hickabilly passion that could almost have been a Sun 45? Maybe Madonna, out of curiosity? Or sheer exhaustion?

If those questions are anywhere on target—and if they make you squirm—you should know that it's safe to turn on the radio again, and maybe even go back to the record store. Until recently, traditional rock—that gut-level stuff Bob Seger had in mind when he sang, "Today's music ain't got the same soul/ I like that old-time rock 'n' roll"—has been under assault from rap, retooled metal and various highly sampled items from the dance floor. The upper reaches of the charts have been overwhelmed by performers like Paula Abdul, laying down bass-ballasted club tunes that keep your booty shaking while your brain shrivels to the size of a snow pea. The last rock record to top the *Billboard* pop chart was Mötley Crüe's inglorious *Dr. Feelgood*, and that was almost two years ago. Just a few weeks back, *Billboard*'s Top 50 had a total of five rock albums. Well, you said you want a revolution.

Then R.E.M., that rhythmically cerebral band from Athens, Ga., released *Out of Time*, which shot to the No. 1 slot in a brisk eight weeks. And Isaak had his first runaway hit. The DiVinyis, an Aussie group with a tough backbeat and a wicked sense of humor, have their own smash in *I Touch Myself*. The Black Crowes, a not entirely holy amalgam of the Byrds and the Allman Brothers, also found their album, *Shake Your Money Maker*, in the Top 10. The Mallomar metalists, Queensryche, got themselves near the chart top with *Silent Lucidity*, a tune about spelunking through the subconscious. New groups such as Fishbone, the Red Hot Chili Peppers and Faith No More are shaking and breaking, and one of the wildest, Jane's Addiction,

just sold out its Madison Square Garden show. "Rock 'n' roll may have been taking a backseat," says Kendall Jones, the intrepid lead singer of Fishbone. "But it's redefining itself. We have no rules. We'll play any kind of music we want to."

Feel better now? Jones urges everyone to keep up with such other promising upstarts as Bad Brains, Murphy's Law, the Butthole Surfers, the Electric Love Hogs and the Brand New Heavies. "Hopefully," he adds, helpfully, "it will be like the '60s, when you could listen to Sly and the Family Stone, Peter, Paul and Mary, and Led

Zeppelin. It's time for music to be free."

To a large extent, commercial conservatism has put a crimp in rock's evolution. It's a matter of survival for "AOR" radio—stations that play album-oriented rock—to coddle their audience (usually in the 25-to-44 age group) with a steady dose of oldies. "We find that classic rock is what most people want to hear," says Mark Chernoff, program director at New York City's K-ROCK. "They like the familiarity." K-ROCK and similar stations may play a new Eric Clapton record relentlessly ("We will beat it to death," Chernoff says), but they go easy on

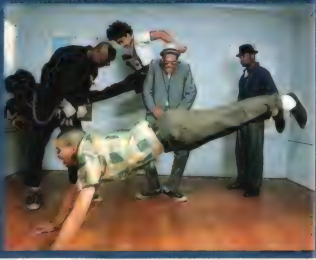
## BOHEMIAN BACKBEAT

Reigning gods on campus, R.E.M. makes proudly off-center music on themes such as environmental depletion and spiritual disaffection.



## FUNK 'N' ROLL

And just about everything else you can think of in the air today. FISHBONE gussies it all up in a hard-driving, socially aware package that's like a musical vaudeville with a keen and killing edge.



breaking their listeners in on the new stuff. Easy, and conservative. R.E.M., the Black Crowes and a couple of the less obnoxious bands will get on the air, but it may be a while before Fishbone or the Butthole Surfers make the cut.

It's a truism by now: rock 'n' roll, born-and-bred rebel music, languishes when it becomes a commercial tool, part of a marketing package. When Dennis Hopper made *Easy Rider* and Martin Scorsese made *Mean Streets*, the use of rock 'n' roll on a movie sound track was practically revolutionary. Now it's de rigueur: the rip-snorting *Thelma & Louise*, with first-rate tunes by the likes of Toni Childs, Marianne Faithfull and Glenn Frey, released its sound track even before the movie hit the theaters. This is good for the movie and good for business, but it makes rock part of a formula. When great rock tunes show up as prefab nostalgia on a movie of the week, or when they're used on TV to shill everything from brew to sneakers, the music's devalued. Its history and resonance are depreciated, embalmed in commerce.

Now that rap is the newest thing for underscoring commercials, and Madonna is ascending from pre-eminent dance diva to the high priestess of the new pop panculturism, rock has found a little room to maneuver. "Rock's in a constant state of change and always mutating," Geoff Tate, lead singer of Queensryche, reminds us. "You're seeing the fusion of rock with funk, I mean, extreme black R. and B., influenced rhythm sections." Also, a fearless rock band like Jesus Jones, fresh from London, manages to meld echoes of psychedelia with hot flashes of contemporary urban rhythm. The results are heady, challenging and abrasive, and unlikely to show up on a Subaru commercial anytime soon.

"I think it's better that we have so many choices," says Allison Anchors, 24, a veteran New York City rock-club employee. "When I was visiting in Florida, it was so cool. All styles and raees totally mixed. There would be dance-offs, with three homeboys going against three Army guys. Everyone doesn't follow one

music anymore. People are getting more diverse. They finally woke up. Or got bored." Christina Amphlett, lead singer of the spunky, post-punky DiVinyis, says, "The whole rap thing has been a rhythm revolution. It's always good to have diversity."

The new rock invites—indeed, insists on—different kinds of sounds for different kinds of audiences. "I think the British invasion will happen again," predicts Mike Edwards, the lead singer of Jesus Jones. Fishbone combines an upside-your-head musical assault with some pointed lyrics. "Forgive us for we have no control or self-respect," goes *Junkie's Prayer*. "Grim reaper has cashed my life-savings check: Thy rocketh and thy pipeth restoreth me..."

There's rap attitude and rhythm under Fishbone's rock, just as Queensryche modifies its metal base into something sleeker and more pointed. "We have audiences full of schoolteachers and college professors," reports Tate, who also plays keyboards for the group. "It's really weird. We have the 7-Eleven clerks and the people from Microsoft."

That's the kind of sound and sensibility to shore up rock's foundation, but Ken Barnes, editor of the trade magazine *Radio & Records*, suggests: "We may be seeing a fundamental, almost revolutionary shift in what exactly is the mainstream for pop music. New musical ideas continue to come from the inner city instead of rural areas." Pressed hard, Barnes will paint the musical future as "a fusion of dance, funk and rap," and admit, "Rock will never die, but it will become a minority music." Geffen Records president Eddie Rosenblatt scoffs at such predictions. "People have been saying rock 'n' roll is dead since the third Elvis Presley album," he insists. "It's a broad area of music. It will continue to be that."

Maybe it's time for rock to give up on its siege mentality and draw strength from its own breadth. The richness of the music has always been its core. Yes, yes: Paula Abdul is the Doris Day of dance music, and she's flourishing. Michael Bolton has a soul made of buttermilk, but that doesn't put a crimp in his record sales. Nor does it mean that traditional rock is being shut out. It only suggests that it will have to adapt and remain openhearted, keep learning and keep listening. A little heavy artillery never hurts, either: the next few months may see releases by Bob Seger, Guns n' Roses, U2 and Bruce Springsteen. If rock 'n' roll ever died, a roster like that means we've all gone to heaven.

But rock has always been enriched by everything going on around it, including its recurring and eternally recyclable history. Whatever action goes down on the Top 10, the past and the future of rock will continue to intersect on the streets as well as the charts. While the rhythm goes through all kinds of redefinition, it might also be helpful to keep in mind that objects in the rear-view mirror are always closer than they appear.

—Reported by Elizabeth L. Bland/  
New York and Patrick E. Cole/Los Angeles



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## Cinema

# More Shots in Dealey Plaza

**Oliver Stone returns to the '60s once again with a strange, widely disputed take on the Kennedy assassination**

By RICHARD ZOGLIN

**D**id Lee Harvey Oswald act alone? Were three shots fired in Dealey Plaza on that awful afternoon in November, or were there more? Was there a large-scale, sinister conspiracy behind the assassination of John F. Kennedy, or just one troubled little man with communist sympathies and a Mannlicher-Carcano rifle?

Unanswered questions about the Kennedy assassination have nagged the nation for nearly 28 years, rousing emotions, inciting speculation, provoking arguments. It

in 1969 put New Orleans businessman Clay Shaw on trial for complicity in Kennedy's murder. (The case ended in a quick acquittal.) Stone's script, a version of which was obtained by TIME, is based largely on Garrison's 1988 book, *On the Trail of the Assassins*. Garrison is considered somewhere near the far-out fringe of conspiracy theorists, but Stone appears to have bought his version virtually wholesale. One need look no further than the actor who will play Garrison: Hollywood's reigning all-American hero Kevin Costner.

In the early draft of Stone's script (co-

Lyndon Johnson in office so that the Vietnam War could be escalated. "This was a military-style ambush from start to finish," Garrison tells his staff later, "a coup d'état with Lyndon waiting in the wings."

David Belin, former counsel to the Warren Commission and author of two books on the assassination, calls the script "a bunch of hokum." By ignoring key pieces of evidence and misrepresenting others, Belin says, Stone casts doubt even on issues that are relatively clear-cut, like Oswald's murder of Dallas police officer J.D. Tippit. (Oswald was identified as the gunman at the scene by at least six eyewitnesses.) "It is a shame that a man as talented as Stone has had to go to such lengths to deceive the American public," says Belin.

In his article for the *Post*, George Lardner Jr., who covered the Shaw trial and now specializes in national-security issues,



Stone took great pains to re-create the assassination scene in Dallas, with Steve Red and Jodi Farber portraying the President and the First Lady. But seven—not three—shots ring out, and conspirators seem to be hiding under every bed.



was probably inevitable that Hollywood would step into this minefield sooner or later—and probably inevitable that the man leading the charge would be Oliver Stone, filmworld's most flamboyant interpreter of the 1960s (*Platoon*, *The Doors*, *Born on the Fourth of July*).

Stone is only halfway through shooting his movie about the assassination, for which he has staged an elaborate re-creation of the event in Dallas. But already the film (at least an early draft of the script, which Stone has tried to keep secret) has come under vigorous assault. The *Washington Post* attacked the movie's "errors and absurdities." Experts on the assassination have voiced outrage at Stone's version of events. Stone has responded with dark hints of a conspiracy to discredit his movie. And who said the '60s were over?

The hero of Stone's film, scheduled for release in December by Warner Bros., is former New Orleans district attorney Jim Garrison, a wide-eyed conspiracy buff who

written with Zachary Sklar, who edited Garrison's book), we learn that Oswald was just a pawn in an elaborate plot that ranged from seedy gay bars in the French Quarter to the corridors of power in Washington. We meet bizarre characters like David Ferrie, a homosexual ex-airline pilot with a homemade wig and greasepaint eyebrows who claimed involvement in the conspiracy but died before he could testify. We witness shadowy meetings between Oswald and Jack Ruby before the assassination. We are told that as many as seven shots may have been fired at Kennedy from three different directions—none of them by Oswald.

The killing was planned, Garrison discovers in the film, by a coalition that included the Mafia, the CIA and other protectors of the military-industrial complex. In a key scene, the crusading D.A. has a rendezvous in Washington with a mysterious unnamed figure who describes how security for the President's visit to Dallas was slackened. It was all part of a plot, he tells Garrison, to eliminate Kennedy and put

called Garrison's investigation "a fraud" and attacked the script for such dubious scenes as one in which Ferrie is murdered by two mysterious figures who force medicine down his throat. (The New Orleans coroner ruled that Ferrie died of natural causes, though two apparent suicide notes were found.) Lardner also ridiculed the film's attempt to explain away Garrison's botched prosecution of Shaw by inventing a Garrison aide who turns out to be a mole for the Feds aiming to sabotage the case.

Even critics of the Warren Commission find fault with Stone's version of events. Harold Weisberg, author of *Whitewash*, one of the earliest attacks on the Warren Report, calls Stone's script "a travesty" that dredges up bogus theories and unfounded speculation. Among them: the suggestion that three hobos arrested near the assassination site were involved (they were vagrants who had nothing to do with the assassination, says Weisberg), and Garrison's "discovery" that the route of Kennedy's motorcade had been changed at the

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## Cinema

last minute (a phony charge, says Weisberg, that was based on conflicting descriptions of the parade route in the Dallas *Morning News*.)

Stone, with some justification, has objected to his film's being dissected even before it is finished. The criticisms, he says, are based on the first draft of a script that has been substantially revised. (The Ferrie murder scene, for example, has been eliminated.) Stone compares the *Post*'s attack on his film to the Hearst newspapers' efforts to suppress *Citizen Kane* five decades ago. "This is a repeat performance," says Stone. "But nothing is going to stop me from fin-

ishing this movie." The director insists, moreover, on his right to make a movie that expresses his view of a critical historical event. "William Shakespeare made Richard III into a bad guy. Now the historians say he was wrong. Does that mean Shakespeare shouldn't have written *Richard III*?"

Stone appears to have less tolerance for others who want to do the same thing. According to Hollywood sources, the director has worked hard to block a movie based on Don DeLillo's 1988 book, *Libra*, a fictionalized account of the assassination. "Stone has a right to make his film, but he doesn't have a right to try and stop every-

one else from making their films," says Dale Pollock, president of A&M Films, which has been trying to make the DeLillo movie.

Stone maintains that the controversy is not something he has courted. "I'm not making this film for money," the director says of his lavishly publicized epic starring Hollywood's hottest leading man. "I want to pay homage to J.F.K., the godfather of my generation." But if his film turns out to distort history, he may wind up doing more harm than homage to the memory of the fallen President.

With reporting by Hays Gorey/  
Washington and Martha Smilgis/Los Angeles

## Smiles (and Yuks) Of a Summer Night

By RICHARD SCHICKEL

### SOAPDISH

We sometimes forget that besides providing merriment for us yokels, show business performs an even more valuable social function. It provides livelihoods and a home for thousands of certifiable lunatics. The savings to our overburdened healthcare system are simply incalculable.

Case in point: the cast and staff of *The Sun Also Sets*, a soap opera of transcendent tackiness. Its reigning diva is Celeste Talbert (Sally Field), so insecure that she must periodically journey to New Jersey shopping malls so she can be fawned over by her fans.



Field and Kline in a flat-out farce

Supporting player Montana Moorehead (Cathy Moriarty) is scheming to supplant Celeste, and has enlisted snaky, horny David Barnes (Robert Downey Jr.), the show's line producer, in a plot to bring back

Jeffrey Anderson (Kevin Kline), once the soap's leading man and the star's lover. Reduced to playing Willy Loman at a Florida dinner theater, he is eager for a comeback. This presents a practical problem: Jeffrey was rather definitely written out of the soap when his character was decapitated.

In the Robert Harling-Andrew Bergman script, loopy life contrives to imitate trashy art with marvelous fidelity. There are moments when the plot of *The Sun Also Sets* seems marginally more realistic—or anyway more temperate—than the lives of its performers. For *Soapdish* is something the movies rarely attempt: a flat-out farce, all slamming doors, thrown objects, misplaced emotions and terrific timing by a wonderful ensemble of actors. Field has an unsuspected gift for comic malevolence, and Kline has a way of putting a soft, almost endearing spin on egomania. No one has ever acted bad acting better than these two, and cool Michael Hoffman is a director who never misses the point or rattles on past it.

Show biz may be full of nut cases, but it has this saving grace: an ability to pull itself up short, take a hard look in the mirror and bust out laughing. When the danger of inside jokiness is

avoided, the result can be *Forrest* or *Noises Off*. Or *Soapdish*.

### CITY SLICKERS

Late thirtysomething and first mid-life crisis loom for three urban types lovingly played by Billy Crystal, Daniel Stern and Bruno Kirby. What better cure for their variegated blues than a dude cattle drive? Joining with other frustrated fantasists, they move a herd from point A to point B under the supervision of a hilariously traditional cowman (Jack Palance). The script acknowledges a structural debt to *Red River*, but its spin is strictly Lowell Ganz and Babaloo Mandel: sharply turned observations on contemporary angst blended with agreeable sentiments by *Parenthood*'s writers. O.K., it would be nice if this film paused to sniff the loomwood, but director Ron Underwood yippee-ki-yos the yuppies quite smartly along a pretty fresh trail.



Yuppie-ki-yo: Crystal as dude

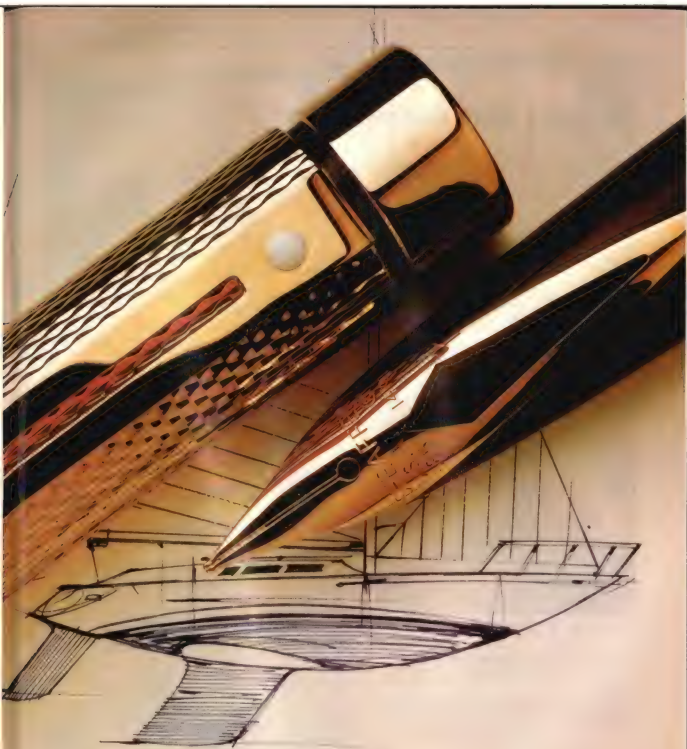
### HUDSON HAWK

By common consent, it's *Ishtar* for the '90s, an overpriced, overproduced comedy that has critics blustering moral outrage. But if you can see past the thicket of dollar signs surrounding *Hudson Hawk*, you may discern quite a tunny movie—sort of an *Indiana Jones* send-up with a hip undertone all its own. Bruce Willis is the title cat burglar, recruited against his will to steal the secrets of alchemy from the various sites where Leonardo da Vinci long ago secreted them. His employers, Richard E. Grant and Sandra Bernhard, are viciously funny caricatures of excessive wealth; his sidekick is a streetwise Danny Aiello. Sacred cattle, ranging from the CIA to the Vatican, are prodded by the Steven E. de Souza-Daniel



Willis, Aiello: burglar and buddy

Waters script, and director Michael Lehmann's action set pieces are intricately developed. In other words, *Hudson Hawk* is a high-budget movie full of low-budget eccentricity. Any movie in which a heavy is caught reading Dr. Seuss books just can't be all bad. ■



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## Books

# Men Who Work Underground

MAO II by Don DeLillo; Viking; 241 pages; \$19.95

By PAUL GRAY

What do authors and terrorists have in common? That is one of the many questions raised in this novel, Don DeLillo's 10th, and it seems a snap to answer without even reading the book. Authors and terrorists have nothing—zip, zero—in common. One class creates, the other destroys; one competes in the marketplace for attention, the other commands it at gunpoint. Case closed. Those who are satisfied with such commonsense certainties, though, should probably halt their progress through *Mao II*, which bristles with un-

TV. Watching pictures of the frenzied mourners at the funeral of the Ayatollah Khomeini, she is both appalled and enraptured and wonders how people, after seeing such a spectacle, can go on living in the same old ways: "Why is nothing changed, where are the local crowds, why do we still have names and addresses and car keys?" Bill, who has made a fetish of his own individuality and remoteness from others, looks at Karen and says, "You come from the future."

Which is the place, it turns out, that Bill would like to explore. His long-awaited third novel remains only that: Scott terms the book a "master collapse" and does not

want it published at all, on the theory that "Bill gets bigger as his distance from the scene deepens." Suddenly, Bill does something wildly out of character. He allows himself to be photographed by Brita, a Swedish woman whose obsession is flying about the globe and taking pictures of every writer she can find. Why, she asks him, while the shooting session is in progress, surrender his privacy now? "To break down the monolith I've built," he says. "I'm afraid to go anywhere, even the seedy diner in the nearest little crossroads town. I'm convinced the serious trackers are moving in with their mobile phones and zoom lenses."

Despite this careful, elaborate buildup, *Mao II* is

not really about the paranoia of a writer who has lost touch with his talent. DeLillo uses Bill Gray as one extreme in a taut, fully dramatized dialectic about the future. Opposed to Bill are the forces epitomized in the novel by the image of Mao Zedong, all those who argue that the world has grown too crowded for the individual and that the only salvation lies in the dissolution of personalities into the single-headed throng. Even Scott, who genuinely admires Bill and his work, sees the attraction of a new world order based on the crowd. "Bill doesn't understand how people need to blend in, lose themselves in something larger," he says. "Think of the future and see how depressed you get. All the news is bad. We can't survive by needing more, wanting more, standing out, grabbing all we can."

This debate cannot be resolved, and in

any case the shape the future will assume remains unknowable. But DeLillo convincingly shows how abstract ideas take on physical dimensions, impinging on the behavior of his characters and, in some instances, on their fates as well. Bill's decision to be photographed, to touch base with the outside world, leads to an unexpected complication, precisely the sort of thing he previously feared and avoided. A former editor and friend implores him to appear at a press conference calling attention to the plight of a Swiss poet who has been taken hostage by a terrorist group in Beirut. The appeal is persuasive. Bill's presence, after so many years in hiding, will cause an international sensation and perhaps bring useful pressure to bear on other men who work underground.

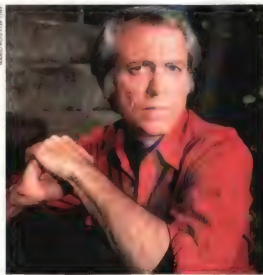
Bill's willingness to go along with this plan, indeed to push it still further, would seem implausible were all the steps leading up to his decision not so meticulously portrayed. DeLillo's gifts—terse, electric dialogue, descriptive passages of insidious beauty—have never been more apparent or put to better use. As it races toward several shattering conclusions, *Mao II* triumphs as a thriller of ideas.

## Pulp from The Woodpile

WOODY ALLEN by Eric Lax Knopf; 386 pages; \$24

Everything you ought to want to know about Woody Allen you could find in the *Playbill* for his 1969 Broadway comedy, *Play It Again, Sam*: "Woody Allen is the son of a Latvian prince. He came to the United States as the result of a pogrom at which he was the only one to show up... He is the father of two children, although he denies it."

In drab fact, Woody Allen is the son of Martin Konigsberg, a Brooklyn butter-and-egg man. He is the father of Satchel O'Sullivan Farrow. He lives with, or across Central Park from, actress Mia Farrow. He was twice married and divorced, and kept significant company with another of his co-stars, Diane Keaton. You know this already, and you won't learn much more about his sleeping habits here. Eric Lax is no Kitty Kelley; he seems to believe, with Vladimir Nabokov, that "the best part of a writer's biography is not the record of his adventures but the story of his style." With Lax providing a sympathetic ear, Allen tells that story in piquant detail, from his early days writing one-liners for gossip columnists, through his stand-up comedy routines in clubs and on TV, to his present



DeLillo: staging a taut dialectic about the future

settled and unsettling impressions: "Years ago I used to think it was possible for a novelist to alter the inner life of the culture. Now bomb-makers and gunmen have taken that territory. They make raids on human consciousness."

The speaker is not DeLillo but his main character, Bill Gray, 63, a famously reclusive writer à la Salinger, Pynchon or B. Traven who lives in a rural hideaway somewhere within a 200-mile radius of New York City. Bill's household also includes Scott, his devoted fan, secretary, factotum and nanny; and Karen, a refugee from the Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church who once took part in an arranged group marriage of 6,500 couples.

Karen's former immersion in mass behavior, which left her "immunized against the language of self," gives her a preternatural sensitivity to mob scenes that flicker on

# JAMES BROWN

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lonely eminence as the crafter of a distinctive, often distinguished body of films.

He comes across as your basic nest of contradictions. His very name is a fiction (Woody Allen is the sort of name suitable for a Catskill jester, not a renowned auteur), yet he strips himself naked in every film. A private person with an itch to dine out (at Elaine's, at the Russian Tea Room), he wants to be admired but not approached. He says he doesn't read reviews of his work, yet he counts as one of the four most important people in his career Vincent Canby, the *New York Times* critic whose reviews have exhausted superlatives and sense in praise of Woody. He has few peers at the complex and honorable business of raising a laugh, yet he wants to play in the same league as Bergman, Buñuel, Kurosawa, to create "true literature." On those occasions when he stops scaling Olympus and makes a popular comedy-drama such as *Annie Hall* or *Hannah and Her Sisters*, he feels a little cheap, like the Whore of Mensa (the main character and title of one of his funniest short stories)—as if he has undersold his gifts to win easy acclaim.



Woody with adopted daughter Dylan in Venice

He has long realized his tendency to play to the caviar crowd. When he was starting in stand-up comedy 31 years ago, his manager Jack Rollins told him, "You do lines only dogs can hear." Reflecting on his first, butchered script, for *What's New Pussycat*, which became enormously popular, Allen said, "If they had let me make it, I could have made it twice as funny and half as successful." By this standard, Allen's *Alice* (U.S. gross: \$7 million) is 40 times as good as *Home Alone* (U.S. gross: \$270 million).

Lax gets all the anguish and accomplishments down, in semismooth prose. Yet the suspicion nags that his highest priority was not to embarrass his subject. Perhaps Woody Allen has lived an exemplary life, but nobility doesn't make the pages burn, or even turn. One can't help wishing that, Latvian prince or not, Allen had written his own life. It would have been as different from this reverent read as stand-up is from doze-off.

—By Richard Corliss

## Bugging Big Paul

BOSS OF BOSSES

by Joseph F. O'Brien and Andris Kurins; Simon & Schuster 364 pages; \$22.95

In 1983, against considerable odds, the two FBI special agents who authored this slam-bang *policier* placed a bug in the Staten Island mansion of Paul ("the Pope") Castellano, New York City's boss of crime bosses. The tap eventually led to the indictment of Castellano, along with more than 100 of his underlings, in the so-called Commission case. Joseph O'Brien and Andris Kurins did the honors, but more like courtiers than arresting officers. They took Castellano to the federal court complex in Manhattan by a back way to avoid the flashbulbs. When the aging diabetic felt a little peckish, they secretly drove him to a favorite deli so he could enjoy a corned beef on rye with celery tonic.

Such is the peculiar intimacy that develops between hunters and quarry. Big Paul Castellano, as the admiring authors describe him, had a certain gritty grandeur. There was one unshakable rule for his boys in the Gambino family: no dealing in drugs. He accepted fiscal tribute from his capos with the lofty dignity of an Indian raja being given his weight in gold by his subjects. And he could discuss, with almost Socratic detachment, the subtleties of when or whether to "whack" a customer who had fallen behind in paying the vig on an extortionate loan.

The bug also disclosed weaknesses that led to the Pope's downfall. Castellano installed a flirty Colombian maid as his mistress—so flagrantly that his wife left him—thereby violating the unwritten Mafia law that girlfriends stay discreetly out of sight. He also named his murderous, vengeful driver, Tommy Bilotti, as his underboss and heir, a decision that infuriated members of the family. Within the Mob, word got out that Big Paul had lost touch. And so it was that Castellano and Bilotti were shot outside a fancy Manhattan steak house in December 1985. The gunsels were never caught.

*Boss of Bosses* has an irritating quotient of macho G-man swagger, and some of ghostwriter Laurence Shames' imagery is so hard-boiled it could be served at picnics. (When Gloria, the maid, dropped a steak into hot oil, "it sizzled like a soul in hell.") But the story is fast paced, and the vivid vignettes include the immortal words of a Cosa Nostra capo who was once asked if his beef shipments contained horsemeat. "Well," he answered, "some of it moos and some of it don't moo."

—By John Elson

## Food



Cool tool: 55,000 BTUs and no fire hazard

## Take a Viking To Lunch

The hottest thing in the chic kitchen is a \$6,000 stove

Glen Close had to have it. So did Oprah Winfrey. Bruce Springsteen wanted his own. John McEnroe and Lee Iacocca demanded—and got—the same thing the Boss did. Another boss, the Commander in Chief, has one in his private quarters at the White House. In state-of-the-art kitchens everywhere, the Viking range has become the hottest stove around.

The sought-after appliance is aimed at the serious cook with serious money (list price: as much as \$6,800). The most popular model is equipped with six porcelain-coated grates, a grill and two gas ovens (one with an infra-red broiler that reaches 1500° F in 30 seconds). Going all out, it can simultaneously broil shrimp kabobs for an appetizer, warm the soup, roast the leg of lamb, grill swordfish, steam petits pois, simmer wild rice, sauté baby tomatoes, poach pears and flambé crêpes suzette.

The versatile Viking is strictly homegrown. Back in 1980, Mississippi contractor Fred Carl Jr., with some prodding from his wife, designed a range with "zero clearance." Translation: although the ovens produce a powerful 55,000 BTUs, built-in insulation allows the stove to touch kitchen cabinets on either side. Gone was the fire hazard posed by overheated professional ranges, and so too the equatorial ambient temperature well known to chefs. Viking shipped its first models in 1986; they immediately caught on.

Cooking-appliance sales dropped 15% last year, but Viking is back-ordered in every color variation. Recession worries? Not while Carl can argue that the Viking is also "a basic cooking machine." For the hottest of stove leagues, of course.

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# Visual Jazz from a Sharp Eye

**A retrospective in Harlem illuminates the keen human observations of collagist Romare Bearden**

By ROBERT HUGHES

**R**omare Bearden (1912-88) was one of the finest collagists of the 20th century and the most distinguished black visual artist America has so far produced: the only one, perhaps, who rivaled in his own time and field the achievements of Ralph Ellison and James Baldwin, Alvin Ailey and Arthur Mitchell, Earl Hines and Duke Ellington in theirs. His retrospective at the

Manhattan, he had a steady market at high prices—not, certainly, the crazed inflationary ones of the '80s, but respectable all the same. Most artists would kill for this kind of neglect and misunderstanding. So what does the case for Bearden-as-unjustly-marginalized-artist rest on? Apparently his exclusion from the "mainstream" of American art as defined by American white art historians, which happened, the catalog implies, because Bearden was black.

cated to the proposition that only "radical" change matters. The complete institutional sweep made by Abstract Expressionism, by hostility to narrative and by the cult of the huge-object-as-spectacle rudely elbowed Bearden to the side. But this also happened to a lot of fine artists who happened to be white: try finding references to Fairfield Porter's work in the books of the time.

The catalog's nagging about the "mainstream" seems all the more pointless because Bearden possessed a deep aesthetic education: he was immersed in the self-sufficient culture of Western painting from Giotto right through to his own time, as well as in African art. It may be that curator Sharon F. Patton thought she was paying him some kind of compliment in writing

that "like Pollock, de Kooning ... and Rothko, Bearden, too, rejected the modernist tradition," but this is nonsense: none of those artists, Bearden least of all, did any such thing.

Indeed, one of the most moving aspects of his work is the way he thought constantly about his heritage, including that of Modernism. This reflection sometimes becomes the essential subject of the collage. A particularly fine example is *Artist with Painting and Model*, 1981, a veritable love letter to Matisse. Bearden plays marvelously with the ambiguous nature of collage. The figure of the model is a reddish-brown silhouette, but the artist's studies on the floor are real drawings of a standing model—pencil on paper—pasted down, and the painter's white shirt is more used drawing paper whose accidental smudges become purposive shading; three levels of representation, to begin with.

On the way to such images, Bearden traversed a lot of ground and did not find himself early. The son of intellectuals in New York City, themselves deeply involved in the Harlem renaissance of the '20s,

Bearden spent long stretches of his boyhood and youth in the rural South and industrial Pittsburgh. The range of his acquaintance, from field hands, ironworkers and Storyville pimps to such heroes of black culture as Duke Ellington, was large; wild enough to make a novelist—or, in Bearden's case, to give the young artist an abiding love of actuality and pictorial anecdote that abstract art could not possibly satisfy.

He went the route of many young American abstract painters in the late '30s and '40s: colonial Cubism diffused into WPA-style figure painting. His sympathies did not lie with Abstract Expressionism, the avant-garde style of '50s New York. "When Delacroix began to transcribe his



**A truly lyrical zing: *Three Folk Musicians*, 1967, is the artist's riff on Picasso's *Three Musicians***

Studio Museum in Harlem is an exhilarating show marred by a sloppy catalog. This will not matter too much to the audience the exhibition will acquire as it moves around the museums of America, ending in 1993 in Washington. The art, as always, is what counts.

Without making a real point, the catalog strikes postures about the slights handed down to Bearden by a hegemonic white art world. He had at least 10 museum shows in the last quarter-century of his career, including one in 1971 at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City. From 1964, when he first displayed his photo-based collages at Cordier & Ekstrom gallery in

Now the concept of a "mainstream" is a phantom, an artifact of overcategorizing minds. The Tiber as a symbol of aesthetic transmission has been replaced by the Everglades. The idea of the "mainstream" is kept alive by pluralists, rather as Stalin maintained the memory of Trotsky—as a bogey. But whatever prejudices and illusions "mainstream" thinking once depended on, racism was not among them, and Bearden got left out of the history books because those who wrote them lacked the imagination to find a frame in which to put his work. Such was the fate of the reflective, mildly conservative artist—which Bearden certainly was—in a culture dedi-

## Art

romantic vision," Bearden wrote, "he had the heritage of Herder, Schelling, Schiller and all the French Romanticists who were of his time. So when I look at Stamos, Baziotis and the rest, I wonder what point their work has, and to what end does it drive."

An excellent question, to which Bearden found no answer. In 1951 he went to Paris and there suffered a severe attack of painter's block, from which he gradually extricated himself by copying old masters and then, in the late '50s, doing derivative, pastely Ab-Ex pictures. What caused this crisis neither the exhibition nor its catalog indicates. But he got out of it through collage.

Bearden's largish photocollages of the '60s and '70s remain his most distinctive work, for two reasons: their use of the medium and their sharply observant, full-blooded, encyclopedic imagery of black life. Since the work of artists like Max Ernst, John Heartfield and Hannah Höch in the 1920s, collage had always been



Romare Bearden

small—keyed to the actual size of the reproduced images in print, which the artist cut up and rearranged. Bearden, however, had the original images, his source material, photographically blown up so that the eyes, faces, hands and mouths could make larger, more wall-holding pictures. The human features were all cut to a razor profile, with sudden abutments, breaks and repetitions that functioned, for him, as a visual equivalent to the jazz he loved.

Having moved to a larger scale, he could use paint more freely and combine his effects with the "pure" collage, the painted and cut sheets of paper without printed design, that his idol Matisse had employed in his last decoupages. Bearden was a gifted colorist whose yellows, deep blues and fuchsias played against the photographic gray and produced, in works like *Three Folk Musicians*, 1967 (his riff on Picasso's *Three Musicians* in MOMA), a truly lyrical zing. But always the human effigy predominated: those crowded faces and bodies, shouting, working, grinning, making music, suffering, pressed with ebullience and awkward grace against the picture plane like people on the other side of a window—*Here I am! Notice me!* "I felt," Bearden once explained, "that the Negro was becoming too much of an abstraction, rather than the reality that art can give a subject. What I've attempted to do is establish a world through art in which the validity of my Negro experience could live and make its own logic." In this he succeeded, and the show is the proof. ■

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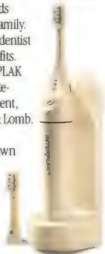
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## Hold On to Your Joysticks

Nintendo's powerful new game system could get zapped

Sometime in the next few months, an argument is going to break out in the 30 million families infected by the Nintendo video-game craze. The kids, primed by saturation advertising, are going to tell their parents they "gotta have" the awesome new 16-bit Nintendo system for Christmas. The parents, remembering the hundreds of dollars they have invested in the old 8-bit Nintendo, are going to say, "No way."

Nintendo last week began taking bets on how many kids are going to win that argument. At the Summer Consumer Electronics Show in Chicago, the purveyor of the world's most successful electronic-game system unveiled its long-awaited successor: a gray plastic book-size box called the Super Nintendo Entertainment System. When it becomes available in September, Super NES will cost \$199.95 (twice the price of the old NES) for the basic game machine, two hand-held controllers, the latest Super Mario Bros. adventure and a \$50 coupon for another game. The machine will also be backed by a \$95 million nonstop marketing blitz designed to convince every American



Mario is even more super, but will he sell?

preadolescent that life without 16 bits wouldn't be worth living.

It's not going to be an easy sell. In theory, the more powerful computer chip at the heart of Super NES can generate games with richer colors, clearer sound, faster action and more sophisticated play. A 16-bit chip, for example, can create 32,768 colors, compared with 52 for an 8-bit chip. But it's going to be hard to see those improvements on the fuzzy family

TVs most Nintendo sets are plugged into. And because the original Nintendo—and a portable successor called Game Boy—uses different chips, the old games won't work in the new machine, rendering 200 million cartridges obsolete.

More worrisome for Nintendo are signs that the video-game frenzy the Japanese-owned company stirred up over the past five years may be starting to fizzle. Sales of the old Nintendo system have fallen off sharply (down 46% in the first half of 1991), and discount tags have replaced SOLD OUT signs in toy stores across the U.S. "I played all the games so much, I just got bored with them," says Tomás Romano, 9, of Brooklyn, N.Y. He and his friends now prefer Little League baseball.

Nintendo should be able to drum up enough excitement to sell out this year's supply of 2 million Super NES sets. What's less clear is how long that enthusiasm will last. At best, say analysts, over the next five years Nintendo will sell about two-thirds as many of the new systems as it sold of the old. At worst, Nintendo could end up like Atari, which in the early 1980s tried to replace a wildly successful video-game player with one that was more powerful but incompatible. Atari ended up with a mountain of unsold game cartridges that got loaded onto dump trucks and used as landfill. —By Philip Elmer-DeWitt

## Whiz! Zoom! Crash! Ouch!

A speedy sport takes a brisk and painful toll

Here they come, whizzing along city streets and suburban roadways by the thousands. Then, watch out, there they go, down on the pavement, writhing in pain. This year about 1 million people—twice as many as last year—are dashing around on "in-line" blades, the ice skates on wheels, and casualties are mounting. Health officials, roller buffs and the \$150 million industry are growing concerned at the rising number of fractures, sprains and contusions as throngs of wobbly tyros fasten on the high-speed, tricky devices.

On one recent weekend, New York City's Lenox Hill Hospital treated 17 bladers for injuries. On the West Coast, about a dozen in-line skaters show up at the Santa Monica Hospital emergency room every weekend, and in San Francisco, David Miles, who coordinates Golden Gate Park's roller-skating patrol, says that up to 15 skat-



Down and out in Manhattan's Central Park

ers are hurt each day. Wherever the accidents occur, the injury list is the same: fractures of the wrists and elbows and badly banged-up knees and ankles. Overall, estimates Manhattan orthopedic surgeon Dr. Pierce Ferriter, "we're seeing 10 times the number we saw last year."

The thrill and the problem with in-line skates is that they go much faster—up to 30 m.p.h.—than roller skates, and are difficult to stop. Most accidents involve first timers who have had little or no instruction. And though there is good protective gear available, a majority of bladers prefer to breeze along unpadding. The most feared injuries are to the head, yet few bladers will deign to don helmets. "They're hot inside and mess up your hair," says Neil Feineman, author of a how-to book for skaters entitled *Wheel Excitement*. Although he always wears a helmet in street traffic, Feineman adds, "They're hard on the Walkmans."

The Minnesota company that started the craze, Rollerblade, Inc., is concerned about the rising tally. This week it kicks off a nationwide "SkateSmart Month" to urge skaters to use protective equipment, learn proper use of the skates and obey road rules. Manhattan has set speed limits for bladers in Central Park, and Huntington Beach, Calif., has banned them from business districts. A smart move by retailers might be to tack a few dollars onto the tab for the pricey wheels (up to \$350) and include an hour or two of well-padded lessons.

—By Emily Mitchell.  
Reported by Idelle Davidson/Los Angeles and Linda Williams/New York



The stately *Diamond Lady* evokes memories of a more daring but less threatening era; inside the floating gaming rooms . . .

## River Towns Take a Risky Gamble

Floating casinos offer fun, nostalgia and America's trendiest new way to lure tourists, but they may be a bad bet for communities trying to cash in

By JILL SMOLOWE

**M**ark Twain and Charlie Chaplin look-alikes, trailed by a freckle-faced Huck Finn, greet passengers as they come up the gangplank of the Mississippi River's newest paddle-wheeler, *Emerald Lady*. A Dixieland band lays down tune after tune, while a jokester on stilts tosses colorful doubloons. Waitresses with feathers jutting from their hair sashay through wood-paneled rooms, offering cocktails. As the riverboat pulls out of Fort Madison, Iowa, and steams up and down the Mississippi on a three-hour excursion into the 19th century, it is easy to get swept up in the hoopla. So easy that one can almost forget what this anachronistic cruise is really about: money and risk.

With the launch of the *Emerald Lady* last month, Fort Madison became the fourth of Iowa's Mississippi River towns to take a chance on riverboat gambling as a lure for tourism and a cure for economic woes. The others launched floating casinos on April Fools' Day. Now all are praying the joke won't be on them. Iowa's notion of melding nostalgic river travel with America's gambling addiction is already stoking competition up and down the river. Among the potential ventures:

- **Illinois** has approved 10 riverboat gambling licenses, good for two vessels each. The first boat could cruise from Alton this summer. Unlike Iowa, where passengers

are limited by law to \$200 in losses per cruise, those in Illinois will be able to place unlimited bets.

- **Mississippi** has also approved unlimited betting on the water but has yet to issue any operating licenses.

- **Missouri** will put riverboat gambling to a state vote. As proposed, passengers would have a \$500 cap on their daily losses.

- **Louisiana's** legislature is considering a bill that would authorize up to 15 paddle-wheel gambling boats. Governor Buddy Roemer supports the idea.

- **Indiana, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin** are also considering variations on the same risky business for their rivers.

Why are so many states willing to wager on something as chancy as novelty gambling? In a word: desperation. Towns on the northern reaches of the Mississippi were battered hard in the Rust Belt shake-out of the early '80s, and the oil bust has left Louisiana's coffers depleted. Hit again by the current recession, local governments are eager for any kind of development that will attract tourists and restore sagging tax rolls. Legislators are keenly aware that gambling is among the country's fastest-growing industries—expected to be worth \$278 billion this year alone—and they want a piece of that action.

The romantic aura of the mighty Mississippi provides additional appeal. By harking back to the time of frock-coated dandies and hoopskirted belles, the mod-

ern riverboats evoke memories of an era at once more daring and less threatening. "A riverboat is nostalgia, Americana," says John Connelly, owner of the gaudy *President*, a 297-ft. five-decker that docks in Davenport, Iowa. "A gambling casino is something completely different."

**S**o far, Iowa's boats, with low betting limits and small capacities (*Emerald Lady* can comfortably accommodate only 700 passengers; *President*, 1,600), pose little threat to Las Vegas and Atlantic City. But as the new industry expands, it could change America's recreation and travel patterns, drawing tourists and gamblers away from the tawdry glitz of traditional gambling towns. To prevent the seediness and crime that often accompany casino gambling, Iowa legislators have capped wagers at \$5, and Fort Madison's planning and zoning board is drafting a new ordinance to ban neon signs. "This is a family affair," says Dick Canella, a member of the Iowa Racing and Gaming Commission.

But for how long? Though the paddle wheels have barely started churning, a riverboat race has begun. Illinois is trumpeting the enticements of unlimited wagering and dismissing its Iowa competition as penny-ante stuff for beginners. "The bettor is the loser when you have a limit," says Illinois state senator Denny Jacobs. "There's no way for him to win back his money in a four-hour cruise."



... passengers, like these aboard the *President*, indulge their passion and fuel one of America's fastest-growing industries

The competitive hype points to a harsh reality: as surely as a flush beats a straight, some of the riverboat ventures are destined to fold. "I am concerned about saturation if every state gets it," admits Bernard Goldstein, owner of *Emerald Lady* and *Diamond Lady*, which docks in Bettendorf, Iowa. Michael Jones, director of the Illinois state lottery through the mid-1980s, warns that the potential audience for the novelty cruises may be smaller than boosters imagine. For one thing, he notes, lottery players and higher-stakes gamblers are different animals. While lottery enthusiasts may sample riverboat gambling once or twice, they are unlikely to be repeat clients.

Depressed towns like Fort Madison (pop. 11,200), the original home of the Sheaffer Pen Co., are nevertheless willing to gamble on their future. The town has already known its share of heartbreak. In 1976 lightning struck the local J.C. Penney outlet and burned it down; it was never rebuilt. Through the 1980s, the town's largest employers—Sheaffer and Chevron—staged devastating layoffs. Although citizens liked to boast that Fort Madison was "a place where you can raise kids," many drifted away; since 1987 the town's tax base has dwindled 20%. To attract Goldstein and his \$10 million *Emerald Lady*, Fort Madison floated a \$2.2 million bond issue that financed a waterside pavilion, a walkway and parking lots. In return, city fathers expect annual revenues of as much

as \$300,000—if the venture succeeds.

So far, so good. More than 500 workers—mostly waitresses, croupiers and maintenance staff—were employed for *Emerald Lady*'s launching, and Fort Madison has benefited from the 40% rise in tourist information requests statewide. Local officials trust that their investment will be covered by the ship's dock fees, a 0.5% tax on gross gambling receipts and a 50¢ charge the town levies on each passenger. "The boat is breathing new life and enthusiasm into the town," says Father Robert McAleer of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church. "There's exuberance over something new."

Yet there are those who doubt the town will be able to meet its annual interest payments of \$240,000 on the bond and fear Fort Madison could one day be jilted by the *Emerald Lady*. "The fact that Illinois has high-stakes gambling could leave us high and dry," says John Hansman, a local historian. "The boat could move to a lucrative market where there isn't a limit on bets."

To avert that danger, should Iowa lift its betting limits? Will the next step for Illinois be casinos on land, as one Chicago-area mayor has already proposed? Will Iowa then have to follow suit? Eventually, the competition to provide more forms of gambling could spawn the very type of blight the floating casinos were designed to prevent: crime, prostitution and sex shops.

The charm of the paddle-wheel ventures also disguises

the fact that they are another major step in the American gambling addiction. Every state, save Utah and Hawaii, has legalized lotteries or some other form of betting. Given the myriad opportunities to blow the rent check on games of chance, do states want to offer taxpayers further encouragement to speculate idly rather than invest soundly? "We have a gaming mentality," argues state senator Jacobs. "We're bringing it out of the closet and into the public eye, where it can be taxed." But states are doing more than catering to an existing demand. "This country has been thrown into a love affair with gambling because the states are pushing it hard," argues Durand Jacobs, a psychologist and gambling-industry analyst.

I. Nelson Rose, a law professor at California's Whittier College and an expert on gambling law, calls the riverboat fever "casinos by subterfuge." With betting camouflaged as tourism, more and more people will join in, only to find that it can have painful personal and social costs. "Gambling begets gambling," he says. Eventually, he predicts, wagering will decline, but only after it has become so pervasive and so riddled with corruption that Americans revolt against the trend.

**F**or citizens of small towns like Fort Madison, there is no sign of revolt in sight. They are betting that after the initial excitement dies down, there will still be a demand for their new wares. And they are wagering that when the tourists descend, the influx will not grossly alter the character of their towns. The roll of the dice is enticing. But as any savvy player at a gaming table knows, the odds in the long run are never as good as the initial excitement. —Reported by Ricardo Chavira/Washington and Tom Curry/Fort Madison



# People

By SOPHRONIA SCOTT / Reported by Wendy Cole

## Tomorrow Comes At Last

We last saw her, weary and downtrodden, on page 1037, declaring "Tomorrow, I'll think of some way to get him back. After all, tomorrow is another day." Now tomorrow has finally come for Scarlett O'Hara, the feisty heroine of Margaret Mitchell's *Gone With the Wind*. And it couldn't be soon enough for the millions of fans who have been musing for 55 years on what she did after Rhett Butler told her he didn't "give a damn."

Four years in the making and published a year later than expected, *Scarlett* by Alexandra Ripley will finally be out in September. The novel picks up where *GWTW* left off, or so one can assume. Ripley isn't allowed to talk about it. "I'm terrible at keeping secrets," she says, "but I gave my word to the Mitchell estate lawyers, and they'd rip my tongue out with hot pinners if I talked." The



secrecy also meant security precautions for Ripley, 57. She did all her writing in long-hand ("I am not machine compatible," she says). But in order to prevent leaks, she

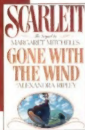
couldn't use her usual typists for *Scarlett*. Instead her two daughters had to type and retype the entire work. "They will never let me forget it," quipped

the author, who lives near Richmond.

Though thrilled at having been the one chosen to pen the sequel ("I was so terrified some Yankee was going to do it," she says), Ripley does feel the awesome burden of satisfying *GWTW* fans. The author of several best-selling historical novels says she re-read Mitchell's work four times and copied out more than 300 pages of the original prose to get a feel for its style. "As a writer she broke every rule, using different tenses in the same paragraph

and mixing points of view," Ripley points out. "I had to train myself to do the same." She brushes off published rumors that the book's delay was due to a poor manuscript. "For people who love *Gone With the Wind*, this will be

more of the same thing. It really is a very good read." But it has to be. Practically the whole world awaits it.



## It's the Kitty Show!

Author Kitty Kelley has put it to the lot of them—Jackie Onassis, Frank Sinatra and most recently Nancy Reagan. So who would want to sit opposite her on a talk-show hot seat? Lots of celebrities, according to MCA TV president Shelly Schwab. The company, which oddly enough soon begins produc-

ing a show starring young Ron Reagan, is planning a syndicated talk show with Kelley as host, to debut in 1992. Schwab is counting on Kelley's exposure from the Reagan tome to snag a large audience. And he insists the guests have no need to fear: "The show is not going to be a TV version of her books."

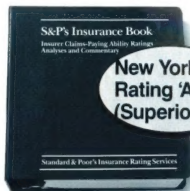
## Vindicated

You don't mess with Liz, and if you do, you'd better get your facts straight. Leave it to the *National Enquirer* to learn the hard way. ELIZABETH TAYLOR sued the tabloid after it published reports of her "boozing it up" while being hospitalized for pneumonia. The two sides settled last week, and the tabloid even apologized after its review of Taylor's medical records showed the stories to be wrong. "I feel completely vindicated," Taylor said. How much she's getting paid is a secret, but her lawyer says, "Elizabeth is very happy, and only the biggest and the best makes her happy."



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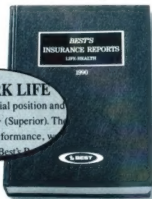
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New York Life Insurance Company	
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Category	Moody's Rating
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Financial Strength	<b>Aaa</b>



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